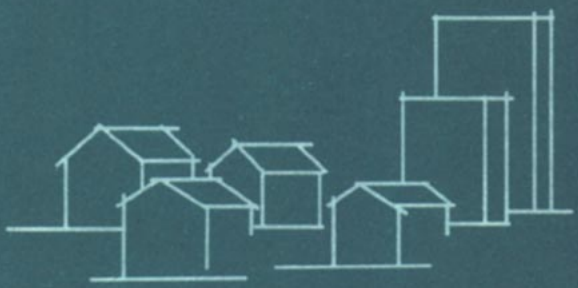
the Freeman

Ideas on Liberty

MARCH 1969



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THE ALIENATED AMERICAN

LINDA DARLING

THE ALIENATED American is certainly a visible entity in American society today. He is faceless, opinionless, lacking commitment and independence. He is the man who watched the murder of Catherine Genovese and did not want to become involved. He is the nonvoter who avoided the polls in November because of a vague, frustrated animosity toward the American "choice." He is the affluent suburbanite, the blue collar worker, the dissatisfied farmer; he is the do-nothing, the silent, the forgotten American.

A December, 1968, Harris Survey reports that at a time of unprecedented affluence in our country, 28 per cent of adult Americans feel largely alienated from the mainstream of society. More than half of the voters polled felt that their lives were of little concern in the social structure and that their opinions were of little value to their "representatives" in government.

When did this malady strike the American public? How did the home of the free and the brave become a façade for the uncaring mass of "typical" citizens? Why has the proud America of yesteryear become an America of shame and violence? Where did the American people go wrong?

Is, perhaps, the American of today being pushed into a mold he does not want or deserve? Is our ever-growing government minimizing the American citizen to a point where he is nearly extinct? It is my opinion that big government, by offering effortless material happiness, undermines the individual's right to do for himself. Are these materialistic stand-

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ards really more important than the individual's right of decision, his self-respect?

The government has evolved into a corporation surpassing the power of any private enterprise in land owned, in investments and income, in total payroll, and in employees. In Washington are officials who control the spending of nearly 200 billion dollars a year, which is a total of 350 thousand dollars a minute. They command one-seventh of the American citizens in their ever-growing army of employees. They manage 800 million acres of land – one-third of the nation – and spend one of every six dollars spent each year on goods and services.

Big Brother can provide you with an education, a job, or, all else failing, a welfare check. His power pervades every aspect of public, and private, life. He can even influence consumer goods by boycotts such as that against United States Steel last year. In this controlled existence of the American, individualism, spontaneity, and privacy from Big Brother are rare. You are told you should be ready for the world at twenty-one, ready for the armchair at sixty-five, and ready for the grave at seventy-six. All else is taken care of for you. With the problem of sustaining himself alleviated, man has lost touch with the "human condition" and he ceases to care about the world around him. If there is not an international catastrophe, material wants will be supplied by the omnipresent welfare state.

Handouts May Be Harmful

There is a time when welfare is necessary to help an individual and is, therefore, good. But there is also a time when this gift should be more than an unrestricted handout. There are often jobs available that pay less than the welfare check, so the individual's reason tells him not to work. Should we not question the inefficiency of the government bureau that fails to find a solution to such a major problem or even to acknowledge the existence of such a problem? Is the Federal government really so distant from the situation that it cannot see these things itself? If so, then the management should be brought out of the heights of the governmental hierarchy back down to human size. F. P. Keppel, the president of the Carnegie Corporation, once noted, "We all know that foundation aid can increase measurably the pace of any social tendency, but we don't seem to know when this artificial acceleration ceases to be desirable."

The handout, the idea of something for nothing, tends to under-

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mine individual initiative. The American is denied the existence of a feeling deeper than hunger. He is told he is too small to be a significant force in our automated society, that he is a mini-person. It is small wonder that more and more citizens are in a mood of open revolt against the machinery and the men of government, against an increasingly impersonal bureaucracy, a top-heavy Washington, a statistical model of services that dehumanize man and perpetuate a cycle of dependency.

Relieved of Incentive

Program after program aimed at "establishing domestic tranquility and securing the general welfare" has had almost the opposite effect: less tranquility and more violence, more public "welfare" and less personal well-being.

For example, urban projects and computerized programs take the incentive and personalization out of bettering one's own community. No longer can the individual contribute his services to the community structure. He is too small to be effective so he must pay taxes for outsiders to come and do the job. He becomes little more than a social security number, a life insurance policy number, a house number, and a telephone number. While the sense of community withers, the sense of personal identity and the feeling of being an active, determining force in one's own life also diminishes.

It is becoming increasingly true that those protesting students who carry signs reading, "Do not fold, bend, staple, or mutilate; this is a human being," speak for the frustrations of Americans everywhere. Through all these complaints runs a common thread: that society is losing touch with the individual; that the sense of community has crumbled; that the power to control decisions affecting one's own life is vanishing; that the precious, intangible thing — the *individual* human spirit is being neglected or injured.

Rendered Irresponsible

As the state has absorbed man's independence, our society has become more socialized. The epitome of this shift of dependence is the concept of pure communism where *all responsibility* is taken from the shoulders of the individual. He is told what to do in his work, his home, his religion, and his values. He need not care about business, church, or education because these things are no longer his responsibility; they are all controlled by the state. But what becomes of the man? Employment for all, poverty for none. Where is his incentive? So in this growing society man becomes apathetic

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to his environment because Big Brother always takes care of him. Because he is powerless, he loses contact with the power structure.

In his essay, *The Cold Society*, Nat Hentoff notes, "It is that indifference of power to man – the power of the state, the power of economic forces, the power of science – that has been felt with chilling impact in this century. And the corollary of that coldness is man's estrangement from himself, and from his society."

In this estrangement man is losing a sense of personal identity and of responsibility. Our heritage was founded on the basis of individual liberty, but will surely crumble if these liberties are infringed upon by the state. We were forewarned by Thomas Jefferson when he said, "Yes, we did produce a near perfect Republic. But will they keep it, or will they, in the enjoyment of plenty, lose the memories of freedom? Material abundance without character is the surest way to destruction."

Dissect and Control

This materialism, the trademark of our modern society, has encircled the religious life of America as well. Gradually, as man's identity in the secular world becomes more and more indistinct, he finds it harder and harder to find God, because science tells him that in time there will be no more mysteries. Our society has become secularized and materialized to a point where everything can be dissected and then controlled.

The basic axiom of the new religion of technology is that the system cannot break down. We have faith in the system. It can be proved whereas God cannot. As the image of God becomes less important, so do the other basic values of man. Science has given rise to a new breed of man. I would call it *homo technicus* because it is a man that, in the species sense, is technologically self-sufficient. Man can, by his technology, master nature and control the environment, subduing nature to his will. He has learned to cope with all questions of importance without recourse to God as a working hypothesis: everything gets along without God, and just as well as before. The supreme being of *homo technicus* is the system, and men are merely its servants. It is this lack of identity and of relating to an outer force, this existing only as an economic unit in society that makes man insufficient for the demands of life. He becomes the alienated American.

A comment that Jacques Ellul made in his observation of *homo technicus* struck a very tender spot. He said, "When the edifice

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of the technological society is completed, the stains of human passion will be lost amid the chromium gleam." Man can advance materially and still lose ground if he does not also advance spiritually. He is now in the process of losing his human spirit. Can he continue to exist like this? I think not.

A Challenge to Youth: To Live in Dignity

What is the answer? There is no simple solution to this dilemma, but the answer lies in today's youth. Significantly, the young adults of the present are not only fighting for an end to poverty and war, but just as urgently, for decentralization of decision-making, less Federal government. They are radically questioning the welfare state in its present form, and are searching for ways by which men can live in dignity as well as economic security.

Can we succeed? I firmly believe that we can. Simply fighting for these things, dropping the mask of apathy, and becoming committed to this idea is, in itself, a victory. Self-respect can grow only out of courage; dignity can develop only from conviction. "The reward," remarks a young folk singer, "is the act of struggle itself, not what you win." In this case the stakes are high enough to merit the risk. ◈

About the Author

Miss Darling is a sixteen-year-old senior in high school and intends to major in political science in college. She has received numerous awards in writing and an American Legion medal in the Americanism and Government program. She has been active in the last two presidential elections and has been a member of Young Americans for Freedom.

This article, "The Alienated American," grew out of a civics class discussion and a strong conviction that this is one of the most urgent problems facing our nation's youth today. It is her hope that not only the experienced politician but also the youthful crusader will be motivated to take a good, hard look at the present American system and then initiate action for the preservation of a government of, by, and for the people rather than over and against the individual.

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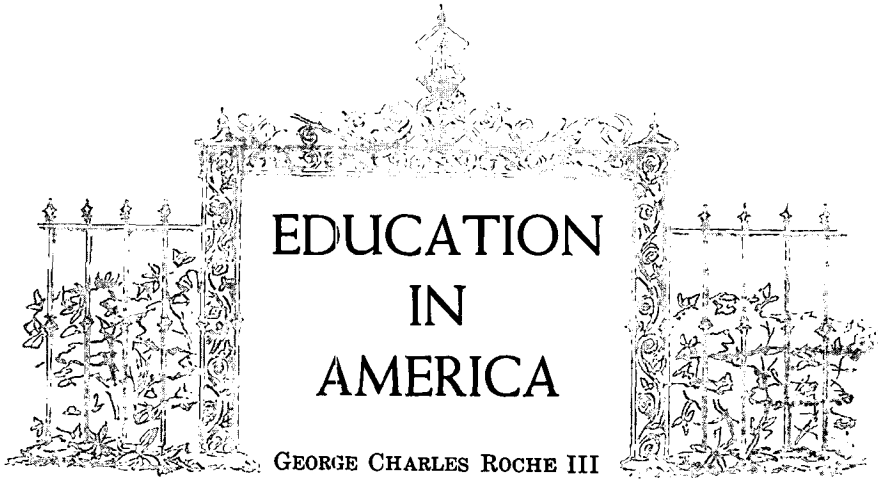

GEORGE CHARLES ROCHE III

6. *The Perpetual Adolescent*

BY WAY of a decline in standards, in intellect, and in discipline, we have bred a new sort of social animal, for whom the educationist's aim is not achievement but "adjustment." That word has come to mean a number of things. To some educators, "adjustment" originally meant the provision of a modern "functional" program of high school education for those who would not receive college or vocational training beyond high school. Roughly 60 per cent of American high school children were assumed to fall into that category. But, as one of those educators, Dr. Harl Douglass, has commented, "It is coming to be believed by more and more people that a good program for that 60 per cent might well be an excellent program for all American youth." Dr. Douglass appears to be suggesting that "adjustment" is now aimed at slowing those of college caliber to the mental pace of the majority.

Our American educational ideal is being molded more and more to that image. We now place special emphasis upon training the dropouts, upon making the curriculum so soft that no one can flunk. Thus, we are caught up in one of the fundamental "democratic" dilemmas of our age. It is no longer enough merely to pro-

Dr. Roche is Director of Seminars for the Foundation for Economic Education. He has taught history and philosophy in college and maintains a special interest in American education.

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vide schools for all; today we must determine what purpose those schools are to serve. If we make our schools sufficiently mindless to accommodate those least able, we run the grave risk of turning out a totally mindless graduate. Such a solution should be unsatisfactory, unless we wish democracy to mean the rule of the uniformly ignorant and incompetent. Perhaps we've toiled unduly over defects and weaknesses and shortcomings, to the grave neglect of talents and virtues and achievements. If we wish our schools to be only shelters for idle youth, we must recognize the frankly revolutionary premise which underlies such a system. The logic of such "democratic" pedagogy implies a total structural change of traditional American society.

The American Adolescent

The American child is famous throughout the world for having never confronted authority in his entire life. He typically is raised by parents who are permissive beyond belief, is educated in a school system in which the teacher is known to have no power to compel order, and is entertained by a television set whose programming and advertising constantly cater to the most childish of fads. Perhaps the poor parents of such children should not be held fully accountable. Not only are they contending against the spirit of the age in any attempt to assert discipline, but in late years parents have been informed by the child psychologist that attempts to impose standards of discipline on their children will interfere with proper "development."

Not only are we bending every effort to make spoiled brats of our young people; we carefully prolong this anti-training period by keeping our children in school far longer than do most other societies. The nature of that schooling seems to aggravate further the whole situation, directly interfering with the transfer of ethical and cultural traditions from one generation to the next. The parents are told that the schools will do the job, and then the schools do nothing of the kind.

Often, the hardest working and most intelligent parents have the greatest difficulty in raising their children. Many of the most financially successful people in our industrial society are busied by virtue of their success. They have a great deal of money, but very little time to offer their children. All the advantages of work discipline, which the fathers learned so well, are denied the rising generation largely because of the affluence, success, and hurried pace of the fathers. A road without

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challenges or responsibilities becomes the road too easily traveled by many of America's young people. Here, again, the temptation is to delegate the responsibility to professional educators whose underlying philosophy makes its proper discharge impossible.

Once the family was bound together through working at common tasks, often including the tasks of feeding and clothing and housing the family. What comparable experience is available to the young person of today? In the absence of meaningful moral experience and hard work, today's young are directed toward material gratification of their passing interests. The promises of our technological civilization and the philosophy of our educational system both contribute to the malady.

To pin one's hope for happiness to the fact that "the world is so full of a number of things" is an appropriate sentiment for a "Child's Garden of Verse." For the adult to maintain an exclusive Bergsonian interest in "the perpetual gushing forth of novelties" would seem to betray an inability to mature. The effect on a mature observer of an age so entirely turned from the One to the Many as that in which we are living must be that of a prodigious peripheral richness joined to a great central void.[1]

[1] Irving Babbitt, *Rousseau and Romanticism*, p. 277.

That great central void to which Babbitt refers is painfully evident in the breakdown of family and the collapse of social standards. Still, we continue the "protection" of our young from any responsibility or reality. Teen-agers are not to be punished as adults, though they commit the same crimes. The open warfare between weary adults and abusive teen-agers continues on all fronts and has today been elevated into a pseudocultural movement. We bribe our children with far more money than we would ever have believed possible to spend, and then are amazed when their childish tastes, backed with these immense amounts of purchasing power, set standards of taste in entertainment at steadily lower and lower levels. We expect no responsibility in our children and all too often get what we expect.

"Adjustment"

In the name of "progressive education" we have emancipated the young from all traditional authority. We label the result "freedom," completely forgetting how difficult it is to be *responsibly* free. We have encouraged a revolt against standards and against discipline by the young people, who ultimately will be asked to pay a high price for their incapacities.

One of the worst culprits in

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consigning these young people to their lifelong fate has been our system of formal education. Many educationists insist that the mediocre standards in today's schools are "set by an intellectual aristocracy" and are far too high! They regard the minimal standards of literacy imposed by industry or by higher education as unwarranted demands. Reading, writing, and arithmetic have become suspect in the minds of many. Consider, for example, the sentiments of one junior high school principal:

> Through the years we've built a sort of halo around reading, writing, and arithmetic. We've said they were for everybody. . . .
>
> We've made some progress in getting rid of that slogan. But every now and then some mother with a Phi Beta Kappa award or some employer who has hired a girl who can't spell stirs up a fuss about the schools . . . and ground is lost. . . .
>
> When we come to the realization that not every child has to read, figure, write, and spell . . . that many of them either cannot or will not master these chores . . . then we shall be on the road to improving the junior high curriculum.
>
> Between this day and that a lot of selling must take place. But it's coming. We shall some day accept the thought that it is just as illogical to assume that every boy must be able to read as it is that each one must be able to perform on the violin, that it is no more reasonable to require that each girl shall spell well than it is that each shall bake a good cherry pie. . . .[2]

There in capsule form is standardless education carried to its logical conclusion!

Competition Unwanted

Such an attitude, at first glance, is hard to understand, that is, if one assumes that the purpose of education is to educate. But if one believes that the purpose of education is to achieve only "adjustment," then much of the educationist mumbo-jumbo begins to fall into place. Mortimer Smith also quotes a letter from a state department of education informing parents who plan to teach their children at home that under no circumstances will they be allowed to do so:

> No matter how competent the parents may be, the child who obtains his schooling at home is not having an experience equivalent to that of the child who goes to an authorized school. The school program does not consist only of mastering the 3 R's and the various content subjects. Perhaps the most important part of the school program is the association in a group. . . . Practically all American living today is a cooperative af-

[2] As quoted by Mortimer Smith, *The Diminished Mind*, pp. 36-37.

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fair. Children have to learn to take turns and to share. Group discipline and group loyalties have to be developed.[3]

"Adjustment" rather than learning would appear to be the wave of the future!

All self-discipline leading to independence is denied the young person in such a system. The institutions of higher learning in this country constantly complain of the quality of material they are given to "educate." It seems that the knowledge of geography, history, grammar, spelling, arithmetic, science, or what-have-you, as achieved by the products of our public school system, is so slight as to be a constant embarrassment to them and to the institutions of higher learning and business firms where the well entertained but poorly educated young people eventually go. I use the phrase "well entertained" with good reason.

On reading about the uninhibited conduct of certain grade-school classes, with free discussion, finger painting, group games, or whatever the youngsters want to do, an older man said: "That's not a new feature of education. They had that when I was a boy. They called it 'recess.' "[4]

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

[4] Calvin D. Linton, "Higher Education: The Solution—Or Part of the Problem?" *Christianity Today*, Feb. 16, 1968.

The "Old-Fashioned" Way

Meanwhile, some educationists insist that obeying the teacher or striving to master a difficult subject is negative in its impact upon the child. What an older society viewed as sound mental, moral, or intellectual training is today dismissed as "old-fashioned." Indeed, some of the "progressive" educators have carried their non-education to lengths that are increasingly repudiated by more and more people concerned with education. Today the term "progressive" often is held in bad repute. Yet, many educational policies stemming from the same philosophic roots continue to dominate much of our educational structure.

The same problem continues to face us. How do we lead a child toward maturity except by initiating him into the demands and standards of adult life? The old-fashioned answer to that question rested upon definite standards, enforced through definite discipline.

During my boyhood in the mountains of Colorado, I was privileged to attend a one-room, one-teacher school that met the needs of children in all eight elementary grades. Admittedly, I was fortunate to have a remarkable teacher of great character and strong personality, who was then and remains a profound influence on my life. Yet, without the benefits of

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swimming pools, guidance counselors, of the 1,001 other such items now assumed to be "essential" to education, we children of that school (incidentally, a cross section of well-to-do and very poor) managed to learn our reading and writing and arithmetic, while learning to respect adults, respect one another, and finally to respect ourselves. Throughout, the standards we were expected to maintain were never in doubt. We also knew at all times who was running the school!

Such schools and such teachers have been the tradition rather than the exception in this country. In fact, much of what we now call "juvenile delinquency" would have been subject to quick solution in the woodshed of an earlier day. But then, such a system as I am describing was based upon standards and discipline, viewing children as individuals, individuals important for their own sake, individuals destined to assume a responsible place in the community. Today, we extend no such courtesy to our young people.

Necessity for Individual Discipline and Standards

The development of the individual presupposes the development of a strong capacity to judge the world around him and a genuine self-commitment moving the individual to act on the basis of that judgment. As Nietzsche described the process, what is required is self-mastery, the individual's imposition on himself of a style, a restraint, a proper form of behavior.

When the educationists announce their intention to teach the young "adjustment to life," the first question which arises is how "life" might be defined. If by "life" the educationist means only adjustment to a pattern of political conformity in which man no longer has problems because he no longer has aspirations, then such a definition must be dismissed. A truly individual adjustment to life must reflect not mere conformity, but good and bad, tragedy and comedy. Without room for man to be a hero, to pursue an ideal, to become uniquely himself, there is no opportunity for the individual to be truly human. When men drift rather than strive, the direction of that drift is always toward barbarism, toward a decline of that sense of style and self-discipline which makes for the civilized man.

Thus, a great civilization is no more enduring than are the proper conventions among its citizens. The child in whom good habits are not inculcated becomes the child in whom bad habits have filled the void. Often, the basis for right

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conduct is less a reasoned position than it is a matter of habit. Habit in this sense is a reflection of the wide experience of the race, passed on by disciplined and demanding standards to each generation as they grow toward maturity.

Not Power Over Others, but Self-Control

The acquisition of such habits is never easy, since it demands much from both pupil and teacher. In fact, many men never seem to learn the lesson. "Experience keeps a hard school, but fools will learn in no other." Yet, most of us have a hard time learning from self-experience, let alone the experience of others. The business of being human is never easy, and our young deserve all the help they can get as they strive for maturity and the formation of civilized habits. What that striving has taught the Western world is that the really valuable power in this universe is not the power over other men, but the power over oneself. This power reflects not only knowledge, but restraint; not only energy, but will. To maintain standards means to develop the capacity to choose and reject, to have so disciplined one's attitudes as to have established an ethical center uniquely oriented to self, producing right conduct in the individual no matter what the conduct of the world around him might be.

If the child is to grow toward such self-discipline, the formation of proper habits must, as Aristotle says, precede reason. No child is truly free to choose until he has become sufficiently disciplined to see the full implications of his choice. When we limit the formation of proper habit, we blunt the power of discrimination in the young, thus binding rather than freeing. It becomes clear that genuine learning and civilization of our young is a process which takes place only when the proper exercise of authority, the authority of standards and discipline, is present in education.

The necessity for such discipline is especially apparent when we consider the unique attribute which human beings call *mind*. The word "mind" implies far more than the human brain. All patterns of thought, all moral and aesthetic judgments, are the work of this amazingly individual quality possessed by each of us. All value judgments, all civilized behavior, stem from the individual's mind within which symbols are understood, evaluated, and applied in one's behavior. The idea of education is to enlarge that process, not merely by the passive reception of ideas, but by the mind's development of the capacity to

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sort out, choose between, and evaluate those symbols and ideas. In short, all meaningful knowledge is knowledge which we have "made our own"; until the individual acquires the necessary discipline of mind to do so, he has not been truly educated.

Disciplined Teaching and Learning Essential to Self-Mastery

Some authority must be present in education in which the superior capacity of the teacher demonstrates subtle distinctions to the relatively untrained and undisciplined mentality of the student. In this sense, values are constantly *recreated* in the mind of each individual. That process of re-creation is education, and demands that the teacher be sufficiently disciplined to have mastered the concepts and the processes, also demanding that the student be sufficiently disciplined to achieve the same ultimate self-mastery.

In the old academic term for various subjects, "disciplines," the idea is implicit that the mind must be sufficiently developed and trained to *think* before it can recognize what is of value and what is valueless. True development of the individual rests on that capacity to distinguish and choose within his mind and heart. It is that capacity to choose which makes us human. It is the removal of that disciplined capacity to choose, as fostered by modern education, which would make of us mere "adjusted" automatons.

Such choice is never easy. Life itself is never easy, demanding obedience, renunciation, and the expenditure of great effort if it is to be truly meaningful. Throughout the ages philosophers have demonstrated the necessity for sacrifice, for self-mastery. Yet, we are now told that man need not master himself to be "happy." Apparently more material goods and politically controlled "security" are to make self-discipline no longer necessary. True happiness lies upon a different path. We must learn to put ourselves into our work, to master ourselves, if we will be truly civilized.

It must not be the business of the teacher to teach the young only what the young wish to learn. Instead the experience of the human race must be offered to the young while proper habits are developed, allowing these young individuals to assume their own self-disciplined place in civilized society. In this connection, we are all the teachers of the young. The churches as well as the schools have an obligation in this regard, and the primary obligation must rest with the parent and the home. The idea must be conveyed that good hard work is preferable to

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"getting by," that people receive from life exactly what they put in, that privileges and obligations go hand in hand.

As the schools pursue this general disciplinary function, they also must pursue the disciplines of form, number, and language. Reading, writing, and arithmetic are far from out-dated, no matter what the opinions of the professional educationists. When these disciplines are set aside in favor of "personality development" or "group adjustment," the school is no longer serving its function. The school must be far more than an elaborately contrived and terribly expensive baby-sitting facility. It must first and foremost be an institution designed to impart sound moral and intellectual discipline to the citizens of tomorrow. Such discipline must be a discipline of both mind and heart, reflecting an external discipline leading to more important, internal, *self-imposed* discipline. Such a system would produce true individuals, complete human beings. ◈

The next article of this series will ask,
"Why Institutionalize Our Errors?"

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Self-Reliance

THE TIME has come for us to re-establish the rights for which we stand — to reassert our inalienable rights to human dignity, self-respect, self-reliance — to be again the kind of people who once made America great.

Such a crusade for renewed independence will require a succession of inspired leaders — leaders in spirit and in knowledge of the problem, not just men with political power who are opposed to communism, or to diluted communism, but men who are militantly for the distinctive way of life that was America. We are likely to find such leaders only among those persons who teach self-reliance and who practice it with the strict devotion of belief and understanding.

J. OLLIE EDMUNDS, *That Something*

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Tenure

THOMAS L. JOHNSON

LIFE, by its very nature is ever changing. From one moment to the next there is always alteration in the chemical and physical structure of all living matter. The fact of change applies to every level of organic organization, from the atomic to the organismic. Man, an organism, is not and cannot be an exception to this law of nature. Since organisms do change with time, the interrelationships among organisms also change, but there are those who, by mere wishing, hope to avoid their nature and the reality of change which must occur in social circumstances and thus seek to establish a static situation.

In the attempt to avoid possible change relating to employment, certain men have succeeded in establishing an artificial system which allows the human to be unnaturally "protected" (actually harmed) by the gaining of "job security." The mania for security has gripped the human imagination, particularly in this century, and has caused many to pursue a goal, the achievement of which can only result in mental degeneration and intellectual stagnation.

In the field of education this mania for security is exemplified by the system known as tenure: the granting of a permanent position to an individual who has satisfactorily completed a trial period of a number of years. Once tenure is granted, the individual receiving tenure can only be removed from his position due to gross misconduct in the performance of professional tasks or immoral behavior of a serious nature.

There can be no rational argument presented to justify granting a permanent position to anyone in any type of profession or

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field of work. Just because a man has performed well in his work for a number of years (whether it be two or twenty) cannot be a guarantee that he will continue to perform well the next year, or for that matter, the next week or day. Man does alter his behavior constantly and there can be no assurance, no matter how stable an individual may appear to be, that he will continue to function well in a particular type of work.

In a profit-making business no sane employer could ever afford to guarantee a job to a man for any lengthy period of time, and certainly not for life (up to age 65). An employee must always be subject to evaluation by an employer if any business is to survive. If an employee did not perform his tasks well, it would mean a loss of revenue for the business; and if this behavior persisted, and an employer were not free to remove the individual from his post, the result could be the collapse of the enterprise. An employer must always be free to replace an employee who, in his judgment, is not contributing to the beneficial activities of the business or who cannot perform his tasks as well as another.

To guarantee a life-time job to one man would be to deny the possibility of a job to another man who may have superior ability. The number of positions in any business is not unlimited; therefore, if individuals are given permanent positions in a particular business, they could not be replaced by others of superior talent and intellectual caliber until such a time as the tenured individuals completed their careers. With business expansion new people are brought into a particular business, but there would still exist a large number of tenured employees who would have to be retained until their retirement occurred which would inevitably prevent more highly qualified individuals from obtaining these occupied jobs.

Business-like Education

The business of education is not, with rare exceptions, a profit-making business, although it must become one if the quality of education is ever to be raised to the level of its real potential. This regrettable circumstance clouds the academic scene and prevents one from seeing the actual losses which must result in any circumstance which rewards mediocrity and suppresses superiority.

In her superb political treatise, *The God of the Machine,* Isabel Paterson writes: "One of the early 'cases' by which 'security of tenure' was made to seem plausible for teachers indicates the utter confusion of thought on the subject, arising from failure to rec-

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ognize the political power in operation. A teacher in California, of excellent character and teaching ability, was dismissed by a corrupt school board for no good reason. The case was taken to court. The teacher was reinstated, on the proper grounds that she had a contract for the term and had not defaulted on it. This was thought a sufficient reason for urging measures by which a teacher must be considered as engaged indefinitely, for that is the only meaning for 'security of tenure'; though this is absolutely irrelevant to the original issue (enforcement of contract), and nullifies the contractual right of the employer."

No one can ever guarantee that an employer will always use rational criteria in judging the qualifications of an employee, but when there is a contractual agreement involved, one can always turn to the courts if one party fails to comply with the stipulations of the contract. No one can ever guarantee that an employee will continue to function in an advantageous manner in a particular position and so it would be foolish for an employer to engage in a lifetime contract with an employee. Change is always with us, no matter how diligently some may attempt to hold it back.

Tenured teachers and professors realize that they do not have to broaden their intellectual scope in order to retain their positions. Consequently, many, having obtained "job security," cease to pursue knowledge in their particular discipline and become progressively outdated with every passing year.

Tenure is a practice which naturally follows from the philosophy of collectivists. It is a technique to deny individual ability for the sake of the "security" of the masses. It is a means of rewarding mediocrity and allowing it to degenerate into stagnant parasitism. Academic tenure creates scholastic somnambulism.

Security Impedes Progress

In any dynamic system (and all businesses are dynamic systems) the alternation of circumstances must not be impeded, for if they are, this can only result in a disruption of the system and a slowing down or cessation of activity. To grant any man a permanent position simply on the basis of performance during a trial period, is to introduce a possible disruptive element into a dynamic system which could, and often does, drastically impede progress.

If an employee is efficient and performs his tasks well, it is to the advantage of the employer to retain the services of this individual. If an employee finds the em-

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ployer and the job to his liking, it is to his advantage to remain in his present position. An employer-employee relationship is mutually advantageous as long as both parties are satisfied with the circumstances. Whenever either party determines that the conditions have changed and the relationship is no longer desirable, both should be free to release each other from a short-term contract.

A tenured employee is now free to seek employment elsewhere, but the employer of a tenured employee is *not* free to replace that employee with another man. Such a circumstance of necessity places a major obstacle in the dynamic situation which must exist in an employer-employee relationship, and we can now witness the results of this blockage by noting the intellectual inactivity of many tenured teachers and professors. The tragic consequences for students who study under these individuals cannot be estimated.

Long-Term Employment Contracts Lead to Stagnation

To advocate the prevention of freedom of action on the part of either the employer or the employee is to deny the existence of individual rights. Every man must be free to choose the activities of his life which will best suit his needs. No man can, in reason, be required to maintain relationships over an extended period of time in an employer-employee situation. An employee should not be forced to remain in a particular position for life (a practice of medieval times) and an employer should not be forced to grant a life-long position to an employee (a practice of the twentieth century). In either case freedom of action is prevented and the inevitable consequence is a degree of stagnation.

The concept of tenure is incompatible with reality. It is an idea which developed out of an irrational evaluation of circumstances and has been maintained because of the lack of intellectuals who would or could support and rationally defend the basic principle of freedom which is individual rights.

Tenure, a collectivist concept, and individual rights, a capitalist concept, are mutually antagonistic. The former is an attempt to deny the reality of change, while the latter is fully compatible with the nature of life and the interrelationships among organisms. ◈

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Training in Trust

HAROLD O. J. BROWN

A NUMBER of years ago the German theologian and philosopher, Karl Heim, a man who also knew a good deal about the natural sciences, wrote a book on the question of certitude, which he called "the life-and-death question for religion."[1] He soon makes it clear that the question of certitude – how we can be certain of anything – is vitally important not only for religion but for the whole of human life and society.

He begins by making a distinction between two kinds of certitude: one is based on calculation *(Berechnung)*, the other on trust *(Vertrauen)*.

It is not only in mathematics, engineering, and the sciences that we seek to arrive at certitude by means of calculation. When a businessman, for example, considers introducing a new product, he wants to have some certitude or assurance that it will move well. Therefore, he makes a calculation of the soundness of this project, taking into consideration what he knows about his customers, their tastes and requirements, the market situation, the quality of the new product, and as many other relevant factors as he can identify and evaluate. The degree of certitude which he can obtain in this manner concerning the success of his venture is less than that obtained by an engineer calculating the weight of a bridge section, but

[1] Karl Heim (1874-1958), *Glaubensgewissheit. Eine Untersuchung über die Lebensfrage der Religion*, 3rd edition (Leipzig: J. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1923).

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the kind is the same: it is based on calculation, but the calculation of less tangible and certain factors.

When it is a question not of investing in a product but a person, in other words, of taking on a partner and giving him a share of responsibility and authority, a businessman will also make calculations. He will attempt to evaluate his prospective partner's know-how, experience, initiative, ability to get along with people, several other factors – and his financial and personal integrity.

However, when one is dealing with human beings as opposed to merchandise, there is always needed something more than mere calculation, no matter how complex and careful. A partnership can be an unhappy proposition – and many are – if one partner's confidence in the other is based on nothing more than the *calculation* that the other is unlikely to try to cheat him. For a better relationship, in business as in marriage, something deeper is necessary. Mere calculation on the basis of past performance does not give a man much real confidence in his business partner or in his wife: he has to know something about his or her character. Character cannot be computed.

It is at this point that Karl Heim points to our need for the second kind of certitude, for the kind that is based not on calculation but on trust. If we cannot trust at least some of our fellow human beings, our life becomes a savage jungle. Much of Heim's book is an attempt to prove that there can be a sound basis for personal trust – that trust need not be just wishful thinking. Rather than follow him in this detailed argument, let us consider some of the implications of his basic conviction that trust is essential to truly human life.

Trust Implies Mutuality

The certitude which is based on calculation depends only on the data which can be ascertained and on the accuracy of one's calculations. If I want to be certain how much a man owes me, I have only to add the amounts of the notes he has signed plus any unpaid interest. The certainty of this knowledge depends on me only to the extent that I can locate all the necessary figures and add them up correctly.

But when it comes to the question, "Will he pay me back?" the situation is different. To make the case clear, let us suppose that the loans are unsecured. In giving a man an unsecured loan, I have expressed confidence in him as a man of a certain integrity. My certainty that he will repay me

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depends on his character, or rather on my evaluation of it; that is to say, it depends on my ability and inclination to trust him, and that involves something more within me than merely my ability to add.

As Heim observes, trust is a *mutual* thing. My ability to trust you depends not only on my knowledge of you, but on my knowledge of myself. He writes: "Thus I can only trust another human being if I myself deserve to be trusted. If I, in my own life, always go after the strongest attraction, then I will be unable to believe that any other man is different. Only if I myself am determined not to be diverted from my course by enticements or by threats will I be able to think that another man can possess the same determination. Thus, when I come to trust another man, to do so makes me feel obligated to a very definite attitude of the will myself. From this perspective we understand the influence which every relationship of trust has on the people involved. We understand why many people only become able to believe in goodness again when they find a man whom they can trust. Nothing has a more ennobling effect on us than to find another human being in whose love we can believe.... Thus the trust which another person confides in us produces a power which lifts us up and carries us beyond our own limits. As often as a relationship of trust arises between two human beings, it is like closing an electrical contact. A current of living forces begins to flow."[2]

Professor Heim does not add, as well he might, how much a breach of trust can hurt the individuals involved – not only may my whole world collapse if a trusted friend betrays me, the same or even worse can happen if I betray my friend. How difficult it is for us to believe in the forgiveness of a friend whom we have betrayed, or to trust him once again! He may remain perfectly trustworthy, but our betrayal of him has destroyed our own ability to trust!

The Centrality of Trust for the Individual

Does Professor Heim correctly evaluate the fundamental importance of being able to give and receive trust? Even without examining his evidence, most of us will sense that he is right. Each of us has had the experience of which he speaks. Even the trust of a dog or a horse has an effect upon us, making it harder to betray the animal by neglect or ill-treatment. How many of us have gone ahead and fulfilled an unpleasant obligation without compulsion or the

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

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threat of untoward consequences, simply because we knew that someone we respected was trusting us to do it?

As long as a certain fundamental minimum of integrity is present in the person being trusted, our trust influences him and strengthens him in his resolution to be trustworthy. The father who trusts his son not to lie to him does more to help him grow into an honest man than the father who always checks up on his son's veracity.

On the other hand, if a trustworthy individual is put into a position where all those around him constantly betray him and each other, it is all but impossible for him to preserve his integrity. (This problem is faced often enough and in a very tangible way by an honest businessman forced to do business in a country in which the tax authorities take it for granted that all tax returns are fraudulent. How can you remain honest when the authorities assume, as a matter of course, that you will lie about your income, and therefore tax you on twice what you declare? In some cases, the only alternatives are to go out of business or to give up one's integrity.)

The ability to trust and to merit trust depends on the habit of trust, and trust is something that can be trained and developed. Just as no good coach will break an athlete's self-confidence by trying to force him to do something he simply cannot do, but will gradually build him up by pushing him each day to a slightly higher performance, so no good teacher will entice a pupil to dishonesty by trusting him at once with something which is beyond his capacity. On the other hand, just as no athlete ever becomes good unless he takes the risk of pushing himself harder than he thinks he can go, so no pupil becomes trustworthy unless he is trusted in some situations in which he could get away with cheating.

Over the years, and varying with the location, the kind of school, and other factors, our educational systems have built up ways of trusting their pupils and of exercising them in trustworthiness – the teacher may let the pupils grade their own tests; he may go out of the room during a written quiz, and so on. One of the great things about certain sports is that they force the teammates to trust each other, and teach them to trust themselves as well.

There is, however, one limiting factor. We mentioned it a few paragraphs earlier: there must be a certain fundamental minimum of integrity in the person to be trusted. Without this minimum,

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all trust is misplaced, and it results only in deceitful dealing and disillusionment. It is precisely this minimum which is increasingly at stake today.

The Centrality of Trust for Society

An individual who cannot be trusted will eventually and inevitably make moral and spiritual shipwreck of his life. Even if he should succeed in amassing wealth and power, he could have no true friend, no one who truly loved him. But the same is true of society as a whole. Many people are blissfully unaware of the degree to which the very functioning of industry and commerce as we know them today depends on a certain fundamental minimum of integrity in most of the individuals who make up a society.

Even the commonplace example of cashing a check at a bank, such as happens countless times a minute throughout the United States, immediately confronts us with the implications of a substantial minimum of personal trustworthiness for the conduct of any kind of business. What if I gave the teller a check for one hundred dollars and he counted out to me nine ten-dollar bills in such a way that they looked like ten? It is easy enough to do, and many of us do not count the money ourselves if the teller has counted it out in front of us. But even if I recounted it at the window and discovered the shortage, who is to prove that I did not palm the ten-dollar bill myself in order to get one hundred and ten dollars for a one-hundred-dollar check? Imagine a situation in which every such transaction had to be performed before witnesses, with prompt and immediate sanctions for subterfuge. Such situations have existed, and they can exist again. There is no substitute for trust other than compulsion.

What happens when a lender cannot trust a borrower? He demands that the security be brought physically into his house and left there. The borrower, in turn, certainly will not accept a check, much less a credit in his bank account. He will demand that the loan be counted out to him in solid, metal money. In the extreme case he will even bring his own balance and weigh it before accepting it.

Our Western civilization, based on several thousand years of Jewish and Christian religion, has given its citizens a long training in honesty and trustworthiness. All too often they have not learned their lesson well, but more often they have. Otherwise, the present system of commercial relations would never have arisen. The God of Israel demanded truth even "in the inward parts" (Psalm 51:6),

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and praised the man who kept his word even when it cost him something to do so (Psalm 15:4). Jesus told His followers that their speech must be such as to render oath-taking superfluous: their simple "Yes" or "No" should be its own guarantee of truthfulness (Matthew 5:37). We all know plenty of examples of Christian and Jewish failure to live by these principles; in fact, we doubtless do not need to look beyond our own record for examples. But we have all profited by the fact that these principles do exist, and have been so clearly set forth by our religious tradition, and have, even though imperfectly, been honored by generations.

The Paralysis of Untrustworthiness

That these principles, and the value-system built up around them, are breaking down, is hardly open to question. What the long-range effect of such a decline in personal trustworthiness will be on our society is easy enough for the reader to project. As long as there is a certain widely-accepted and honored minimum of personal integrity, individual responsibility will bear many of the burdens for the functioning of society. The alternatives are chaos or compulsion. Leaving aside what will happen within society as individual relationships of trust become unreliable and disappear, let us look at the kind of major policy decisions which will be made by leaders of a society in which personal integrity is being replaced by personal gratification.

Karl Heim pointed out that people who do not have firm ideals from which neither enticements nor threats can move them simply cannot believe that anyone else could have firm ideals. This might explain why leaders of the United States, over a prolonged period, have seemed unable to believe that communists in general or Russians in particular will pursue their long-range goals despite their short-range convenience. How better explain the persistent conviction, or delusion, held in spite of all the evidence, that "the Russians are mellowing"? If we have lost the habit, individually and nationally, of following our ideals despite our immediate self-interest, how can we believe that anyone else will do so? And what terrible mistakes we will make through our inability to believe!

The Power of Faith

A number of economic papers and books have been published recently showing that if certain trends continue and certain policies are pursued, the dollar will collapse. This is not a moral judgment, but a simple fact which will

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inevitably follow if certain factors continue to work. In the same way, despite the evident moral and religious implications of what has been said here, the conclusion that Western free-enterprise society *must collapse* – or turn into something unrecognizable and horrible – is not a moral judgment. It is a simple conclusion drawn from the evidence.

Fortunately, there is a variable factor. That factor is man himself. Man cannot turn himself from a sinner into a saint by an act of the will, any more than he can make himself run a four-minute-mile by willing to do so. Apart from a genuine and spectacular conversion, no scoundrel can turn himself into an honest man, worthy of trust, by simply willing to be trusted. But fortunately, no one starts off in life as a perfect scoundrel.

Without wishing to deny the *divine* factor, or to fail to say that at a crucial point it becomes essential – for that would be irresponsible and dishonest for a Christian and a theologian – it is possible, and fully consistent with our biblical heritage and with the experience of Judaeo-Christian civilization, to say that there is a *human* factor, and that it is substantial. We have had the experiences of which Karl Heim speaks, all of us, unless our human lives have been impoverished beyond all reckoning. We know the ennobling power in our own life of a friend's trust, even if imperfect and incompletely merited by us. We have all seen the power of our trust to make another fulfill an unpleasant obligation, not because he must, but because we trust him.

These are realities of human life and experience. They can be built upon, just as a coach can build upon the present strength and endurance of an athlete to make of him a champion in the future. We can build them in our own lives, and in the lives of those around us. The man who trains himself and others in trust and trustworthiness can have a certitude, an assurance which the mere calculator can never know. ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

The Way It Is

THOSE who are demanding freedom from responsibility have yet to discover there is only freedom for the responsible.

PAUL L. FISHER

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Distinguished Everybodies

ARCHIE PEACE

"WHAT'S it all about, my life, my world?" I assume the question is as perplexing and inescapable to others as to me. And for what they are worth, here are two premises I find helpful in examining the questions of life.

1. For all practical purposes, we are living in an unfinished world, a world in process of being completed and understood by man.
2. Each person is uniquely equipped to participate in this ongoing process of completion and understanding.

That each of us lives out his years in an incompletely understood world is all too obvious. We are still seeking answers to fill in the gaps in all areas of our knowledge of the world and of ourselves, and each answer we find poses new questions.

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But the incompleteness of our knowledge appears, to our limited understanding, to be compounded by the added element that we are actually living in a world which is incomplete – one that is still being "worked out."

To speak of an unfinished world may shock some. The fact of the matter is not subject to scientific proof or disproof, for it is of the nature of an expectant extension of the mind in an attempt to adequately comprehend the involvements of our life in this world. But, fact or faith, we humans are scarcely in a position to set limiting boundaries when accounting for the energies operating in this world.

Use any term you wish to denote the basic energies operating in this world, the gradual expansion of our knowledge only makes plain that each advance produces more unknowns and unexplainables to be pursued. Principles which seemed to be unshakeable

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one day must be revised soon after in the light of new discoveries which suddenly become evident as parts of our world.

Truly, the concept of a "developing world" may call for a slight re-alignment of our thinking, but even if it does it will serve as a more practical and dynamic basis for personal adjustment to the everyday experiences of our living.

It certainly enables us to slice through many of the tight limitations which have restricted our outlook upon the world. It opens up a better basis for understanding the many seemingly impossible experiences and questions which have been associated with the "once and for all" fixed structural conception of our world. For, to cite just one troublesome area, the difficult problems of understanding unmerited suffering and hardship may be found to be simply rooted in the imperfect, incompleteness of our world and its peoples at the present stage of the building process.

If, then, the world in which we live is still under construction, we who live in it are definitely parts of the ongoing process. Imperfect as we are, we are nonetheless integral parts of the present stage of the whole. We are "in," "of," and "by" the completing process. The abilities and personal equipment which we have are ours to be used, used up to the limit of our individual skills and situations.

As in any productive process, we may work for its success, "goof off," or, with a distorted sense of personal importance, impede and sabotage the process. Every one of us has a stake in the whole, and every individual counts, for only through individual initiative and action will some small part of the process be satisfactorily aided as, and if, it advances. We have the options of choice inherent in our freedom. Within the rules every person has the right to freely choose and freely pursue his goals. This dangerous harmony in diversity is essential to the ongoing process.

Like the little boy delivering an address at a school exercise in the Philippines, who after greeting the honored guests, turned to the audience and greeted them, "Distinguished Everybodies," we need to recognize that we are just that, "distinguished everybodies": everybodies who are here to help inch our world and mankind along nearer to the next higher level of completion. ◈

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CLARENCE B. CARSON

The Rise and Fall of England

13. REFORM IDEAS INTO POLITICAL ACTION

JUST when government intervention in England had been introduced on a scale sufficient to mark the turn from the liberal state to the interventionist welfare state is problematical and conjectural. There never was a time when there was not some government intervention, of course. Probably the high tide of liberty generally was from the late 1840's to the late 1860's, though the tendency had been in that direction for more than a century and a half preceding the mid-nineteenth century. Some measures smacking of the new intervention were passed in the 1830's and 1840's, even before the repeal of the last of the major mercantilist measures. And there should be no doubt that intervention gained headway once more from the 1860's onward.

Writing in 1884, Herbert Spencer perceived already the oppressive character of the trend:

> Dictatorial measures, rapidly multiplied, have tended continually to narrow the liberties of individuals; and have done this in a double way. Regulations have been made in yearly-growing numbers, restraining the citizen in directions where his actions were previously unchecked, and compelling actions which previously he might perform or not as he liked; and at the same time heavier public burdens, chiefly local, have

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further restricted his freedom, by lessening that portion of his earnings which he can spend as he pleases, and augmenting the portion taken from him to be spent as public agents please.[1]

Spencer gives such examples as the following: an act passed in 1860 providing for the inspection of gas works, establishing quality controls and controlling prices; an act of 1863 requiring compulsory vaccination in Scotland and Ireland; an act of 1866 regulating cattle sheds and allowing local authorities power to inspect sanitary conditions; the establishment in 1869 of a state telegraph system; an act of 1873 requiring merchant vessels to show the draught of the boat by a scale and making it necessary for ships to carry certain life-saving equipment. "Again, there is the Act which . . . forbids the payment of wages to workmen at or within public-houses; there is another Factory and Workshops Act, commanding inspection of white lead works . . . and of bakehouses, regulating times of employment in both, and prescribing in detail some constructions for the last, which are to be kept in a condition satisfactory to the inspectors."[2]

On the other hand, one historian holds that the fabric of English liberty had hardly been rent as late as 1914:

> Until August 1914 a sensible, law-abiding Englishman could pass through life and hardly notice the existence of the state, beyond the post office and the policeman. He could live where he liked and as he liked. He had no official number or identity card. He could travel abroad or leave his country for ever without a passport or any sort of official permission. He could exchange his money for any other currency without restriction or limit. He could buy goods from any country in the world on the same terms as he bought goods at home. . . . An Englishman could enlist, if he chose, in the regular army, the navy, or the territorials. He could also ignore, if he chose, the demands of national defence. Substantial householders were occasionally called on for jury service. Otherwise, only those helped the state who wished to do so. The Englishman paid taxes on a modest scale. . . .

Even so, he notes that the "tendency towards more state action was increasing."[3]

The Turning Point

Actually, though, most historians are inclined to fix the date of

[1] Herbert Spencer, *The Man Versus the State*, Albert Jay Nock, intro. (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1940), p. xii.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-14.

[3] A. J. P. Taylor, *English History: 1914-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 1.

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the turning point toward government intervention and welfare state in the year 1906. Better still, that year may be taken as the consolidation of the turning, for the turn to a new direction had been building for a goodly number of years. Intervention had been increasing; both major parties had come to champion various sorts of intervention; the thrust to socialism was making an ever stronger impact. Within the next 15 years following 1906 major changes would be made – by legislative acts, within the constitution, by the concentration of power, and changes within party strength – which would set England firmly on its road toward socialism.

Nineteen hundred six was the signal year because of the results of the general election which was held. The Liberals came to power with 377 members in the House of Commons to only 157 for the Conservatives. In itself, the return of the Liberals to power would hardly have been remarkable, for they had many times controlled the government in the nineteenth century. But they were not the Liberals that had once held power. One historian described the change in this way: "Nineteenth-century liberalism . . . did not win in 1906. In domestic affairs the real significance of the election is in its impetus to social democracy: the rising demand for better standards of living for the workingmen, for greater equality of opportunity, for limitations of economic privilege and for security against sickness, unemployment and old age."[4] Reformist ideas had made deep inroads into this old party. Of great importance, too, 53 Labour Party men were elected to the House, the first time that party had any representation to speak of. Moreover, their victory and subsequent activity indicates the way the Liberals were moving.

Labour-Liberal Coalition

In 1903, Liberal and Labour representatives had worked out an agreement to concert their efforts against the common Conservative enemy.[5] In payment for this, for the next several years Labour members usually voted with the Liberals. In addition, as the result of the election of 1906 there were 83 Irish Nationalists in the House. "The Liberals had thus a majority of 84 over all the other parties combined, and on the natural assumption that they would for most purposes be supported by the Labour men and the Nationalists they could expect a majority of something like 400. There had

[4] Alfred E. Havighurst, *Twentieth Century Britain* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962, 2nd ed.), p. 85.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

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never been anything like it before. . . ."[6]

There followed a spate of legislation which began to turn England into a welfare state. In 1906, a Workmen's Compensation Act was passed, greatly extending the coverage of an earlier act. An Education Act was passed which provided for the provision of meals for needy school children. While the act only permitted such action, it did acknowledge the principle of government responsibility, a considerable breakthrough.[7] The Fabians had, of course, advanced the idea for such a measure.

Privileges to Unions; Social Security Measures

Of somewhat different character – though generally reckoned to be of greater significance – was the passage of the Trade Disputes Act. This legislation was passed to alter the effects of the Taff Vale Decision made by the House of Lords in 1901. The Lords had held that a union was financially responsible for damages it had done by a strike against a railroad. The Liberal ministry introduced a measure in 1906 to deal with the matter. However, it was unsatisfactory to Labour members, and one of them submitted a simple measure which was then passed. It provided that labor unions were not financially responsible for damage occurring during strikes. It also authorized peaceful picketing, or, in effect, trespass.[8]

Further legislation was passed in 1908-1909 taking England toward the welfare state. Of considerable importance as a step was the Old Age Pensions Act. This act provided that everyone, with a few exceptions, who had an annual income of less than 21 pounds would receive a pension of five shillings per week at the age of seventy. Protective legislation was passed for workers in the coal mines, limiting the hours of work for adult male workers to 8 hours per day. Earlier legislation had regulated such employment for women and children, but this was the first for adult males. The Labor Exchange Act provided for employment offices to be set up over the country. Another act set up Trade Boards for certain of the so-called "sweated" industries. These gained the power to establish minimum wages for certain trades. This "established the revolutionary principle of fixing by law 'a

[6] D. C. Somervell, *British Politics Since 1900* (London: Andrew Dakens, 1953, rev. ed.), p. 55.

[7] Carl F. Brand, *The British Labor Party* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), pp. 20-21.

[8] Stephen B. Baxter, ed., *Basic Documents of English History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968), pp. 250-51.

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decent wage' in industries not protected by unions."[9]

The National Insurance Act of 1911 was another major step. This was compulsory contributory health insurance for a large portion of the populace of England. It applied mainly to people remuneratively employed, and covered such things as medical treatment, hospital care, and compensation during incapacity. There was also attached to this act a provision for unemployment compensation.[10]

But before the passage of this last act, important constitutional changes had been initiated from the House of Commons. The House of Lords had been reduced to a virtual nonentity in the Parliament. What was involved was the destruction of the centuries old balance of power in the English government. This action was preceded, however, by a long-term decline in the powers of the monarch. Before telling the story of the assault upon the House of Lords, then, it is in order to survey the power situation and call attention to the decline of monarchical powers.

Disturbing the Balance

Since the late seventeenth century, England had a precariously balanced system of power dispositions. The executive power was vested in the monarch, though it came increasingly to be exercised through Parliament. The legislative authority belonged to Parliament, with much of the initiative located in the House of Commons because that body only could originate money bills. Even so, the negative power of the Lords was great, for that body could not only amend and veto bills but was also the highest court in the land. The independence of the courts was fully established in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

The powers of the constitutionally limited monarch reached their peak under George III (1760-1820). That stubborn ruler was able to bend Parliament to his will in the latter part of the eighteenth century by various expedients, not least of which was the buying of members by astute dispensation of privileges and incomes. Neither of the two dissolute monarchs who followed him for brief reigns — George IV (1820-1830) nor William IV (1830-1837) — were such as would build the power of the office or endear the people to the institution. Queen Victoria (1837-1901) did re-establish monarchy in the affections of the people and stamp the age with her name, but the power continued to slip away. By a series of acts the franchise was extended to more and more of

[9] Havighurst, *op cit.*, pp. 99-100.
[10] See Baxter, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-58.

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the populace, and the democratic ethos that came increasingly to prevail made it appear unseemly for hereditary authority to be exercised. One historian notes that between "1874 and 1914, while the person of the monarch may even have gained importance as a figure-head, it steadily lost power as a factor in government."[11]

Twisting the Lion's Tail

Just how low monarchy had sunk can be illustrated by the following occurrence. The Liberals thought that it might be necessary to have the King appoint hundreds of new Lords in order to get a bill to reduce their power through that House. In any case, Prime Minister Asquith wanted to be able to use this possibility as a threat, so he approached the new king, George V, about the matter in secret in 1910. The exchange went something like this. Mr. Asquith asked:

> *If* he took the responsibility of advising another election and *if* he then retained his majority, would the King agree to create peers?
>
> The King . . . asked if that was the advice which would have been tendered to his father. "Yes, sir," said Mr. Asquith, "and your father would have consented." So George V agreed that there seemed to be no alternative.[12]

The natural affinity of the monarch was with the House of Lords. It was largely an hereditary institution, and its members at one time or another resulted from his appointment. Yet so tenuous had the position become that the King dare not resist the request of the leader of the Commons, though that request be for an action that would lead to the diminution of the powers of the Lords.

The House of Lords

By the early twentieth century, then, there remained only one major check on the power of Commons – the ancient House of Lords. To say that the Constitution checked Commons was little more than to say that the Lords checked them, for without the Lords to interpret that tradition, the Constitution would become what Commons would make of it. Undoubtedly, too, power had been gravitating toward the Commons for a long time. Lord Salisbury resigned as Prime Minister in 1902, and he was the last Peer to head a government.[13]

However unideal some of its members might be as individuals,

[11] R. C. K. Ensor, *England: 1870-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 31.

[12] George Dangerfield, *The Strange Death of Liberal England* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1961), p. 40.

[13] Havighurst, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

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the House of Lords was in many respects an ideal body to check the Commons. It did not depend upon the populace for selection. On the other hand, it posed virtually no threat to the liberties of Englishmen, for it was unlikely to originate any legislation. But because of its independence it could serve to limit government to protect the traditional liberties of Englishmen.

There is considerable evidence that many of the Lords were intent on doing just that in the early twentieth century. Their overwhelming victory in 1906 had placed unprecedented power in the hands of Liberals in Commons. The opposition party was reduced to an ineffectual minority. There was, however, a potential counterbalance to overweening partisan action in the Lords. Though the Lords were not technically members of a political party, in their inclinations they lined up this way, according to one tabulation: 355 Conservatives, 88 Liberals, 124 Liberal Unionists (who had lately been inclined to vote with Conservatives).[14]

While the Lords did not prevent some reform measures from passing, they did tend to place restraints on the reformers. The Liberals in Commons found a number of their measures rejected by the Lords. An Education Bill was greatly altered in the hereditary House. That body rejected a Plural Voting Bill, and vetoed, in effect, a Licensing Bill aimed at curtailing the number of Public Houses.[15] And though historians have not generally made much of the fact in this context, the House of Lords ruled in 1909 that labor unions could not use compulsorily collected dues for political purposes.

The Budget Bill of 1909

The event which precipitated the crisis, however, was the Budget Bill of 1909. There are indications that the Liberals in Commons were ready to reduce the power of the Lords almost from the moment they came to power, but the budget affair gave them the occasion. Some of the provisions of the budget were startling enough.

Its unusual features were these: (1) sharp increases in death duties (inheritance taxes); for example, estates of £1,000,000 and over were to be taxed at about 25 per cent; (2) increases in income tax schedules which continued the distinction between earned and unearned income first made in 1907; on incomes of £5,000 or more there was to be an additional super-tax, an innovation; (3) land taxes, of which the most significant was a 20 per cent tax on the unearned increment in value

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

[15] See Dangerfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

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when land changed hands; (4) higher levies on tobacco and spirits.[16]

The House of Lords rejected the budget by a vote of 350 against to 75 for.

This budget reads as if it might have been the result of a collaboration between Karl Marx of the time of *The Communist Manifesto* and Henry George of the somewhat later *Progress and Poverty*, with bemused Fabians peering over their shoulder. Actually, of course, it was the work of David Lloyd George. Lloyd George played such a significant role in these years in the centralization of power in the Commons, in its concentration in the Prime Minister, and in the demise of the Liberal Party that he deserves a little closer look. In 1909, he was a member of the House, a Liberal, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in the government of Asquith. He was of obscure Welsh parentage, and came to the fore in the late 1890's as a Welsh nationalist, radical, and outspoken critic of the Conservatives.

Lloyd George was indeed influenced by Henry George,[17] had obviously adopted some of his central terminology, and would off and on devote himself to schemes for land reform for the rest of his political career. He was a socialist, too, in all but name. His budget was a "war budget," he said, a budget for a war on poverty; as a result of which he hoped that poverty would become "as remote to the people of this country as the wolves which once infested its forests."[18] One writer describes him in this way:

> If his convictions had been otherwise than emotional, he would have been a Socialist by this time. . . . He was less a Liberal than a Welshman on the loose. He wanted the poor to inherit the earth, particularly if it was the earth of rich English landlords. . . .[19]

Whether chosen for the spot or not, he was to spearhead the movement to destroy the older British order and set the stage for full-fledged socialism.

Parliament Act of 1911

Following the rejection of the budget in 1909, the movement to reduce the powers of the Lords accelerated. It did not reach its fruition, however, until two elections had been held, and a new monarch had come to the throne. The House of Lords was shorn of most of its powers by the Parlia-

[16] Havighurst, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[17] See Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Contemporary Europe Since 1870* (New York: Macmillan, 1958, rev. ed.), p. 319.

[18] Quoted in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XIV (1955), 251.

[19] Dangerfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

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ment Act of 1911. It provided that, in the case of money bills, if they are not passed without amendment by the upper house within one month, they become law without the assent of that body. In the case of most other bills, if they are passed by the House of Commons once in each of three successive sessions, they can become law if the Lords refuse their assent.[20] The Lords could now delay legislation temporarily, but they could no longer prevent its passage. All governmental power was now centered in the House of Commons. The forms by which power had been balanced were outwardly preserved in the institutions of monarchy and an upper house, but the content was gone from them.

Lloyd George's War Cabinet

The concentration of executive power in the hands of the Prime Minister occurred during World War I. The man who did it was, once again, David Lloyd George. H. H. Asquith had formed a coalition government in 1915, with the Liberals preponderating in it. But he gave way in 1916 to new leadership headed by Lloyd George. The latter proceeded as quickly as possible to concentrate effective power in his own hands. One historian described the development this way: "Lloyd George's accession to power in December 1916 was more than a change of government. It was a revolution British-style. The party magnates and the whips had been defied. The backbenchers and the newspapers combined in a sort of unconscious plebiscite and made Lloyd George dictator for the duration of the war."[21]

The traditional cabinet was subordinated, its members losing most of their historic independence. Most of the governmental functions were directed by a "war cabinet" made up of five members who were chosen primarily to execute the will of Lloyd George. "Lloyd George's war cabinet was a committee of public safety, exercising supreme command under his direction. . . . The holders of the other great historic offices merely received their marching orders."[22]

In effect, the government took over the direction of many facets of the lives of Englishmen during World War I. Military conscription was instituted; the merchant marine was appropriated; the mines were taken over. The whole paraphernalia of controls, with which peoples have become familiar in wartime, were introduced: price controls, rent controls, rationing, allocation of materials, manipulation of the money supply,

[20] See Baxter, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-57.

[21] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

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confiscatory taxation, and so on. Some British historians call this development "war socialism." The phrase is apt, for socialism is the generic term to describe the large role that government assumed in the lives of the people during the war.

Military Conscription

It is a commonplace of historical generalization that this development was born of wartime expediency. This judgment should not be casually accepted. Undoubtedly, socialists have discovered grist for their mills in the methods employed during wars. But have they not also helped to shape those methods? There is no doubt that England was being bent toward socialism before the war came. Lloyd George was full of plans for accomplishing what should certainly be called socialistic, at the least. Given the occasion of the war, he would think in such terms to deal with it. So would many another.

An inkling of the nonexpedient character of much compulsion may be gained from the matter of military conscription. A Military Service Act was passed in January 1916 introducing such conscription. Yet one historian points out: "The army had more men than it could equip, and voluntary recruitment would more than fill the gap, at any rate until the end of 1916. Auckland Geddes, who was in the best position to know, later pronounced this verdict: 'The imposition of military conscription added little if anything to the effective sum of our war efforts.' "[23] David Lloyd George wanted it, and much of the country had apparently come to favor such compulsion.

The Decline of Liberals

One other major development needs to be told here: the decline of the Liberal Party and the rise of the Labour Party. The election of 1922 foreshadowed the downfall of the Liberals. The Conservatives won with 347 members elected; the Labourites came in second with 142; the Liberals were a poor third with 117, and these were divided about equally between followers of Asquith and Lloyd George. The Liberals gained a few members in the election of 1923, but they were still the third party. A new election in 1924 returned only 42 Liberals, and a one-time major party had fallen from the national councils.

It can be argued that the Liberal Party was on the way out, in any case. The party had been increasingly abandoning the historic principles of liberalism. In the nineteenth century, the Lib-

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

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erals had championed free trade and generally worked for the removal of governmental restrictions by which liberty might be extended. By the twentieth century, they were turning more and more to reforms which restricted liberty. As ameliorative reformers, they were doing little more and not much different from what the Conservatives would do. The Labourites, on the other hand, preempted the position at the forefront of the movement for more radical change.

Even so, David Lloyd George played a major role in the division and destruction of his party. He undermined its leadership at the outset of World War I. He formed a coalition government which relied mainly on the Conservative opposition. He gave short shrift to what remained of the historic liberal principles in the conduct of the war effort. In 1918, he fostered an election which was aimed at continuing his personal leadership of a coalition rather than the victory of his party, and he succeeded. The Liberal Party was then divided between followers of Asquith and himself. Probably, Lloyd George did not intend these results, but his actions contributed much to them.

There was no longer a major party in England devoted to the protection and extension of liberty. The Conservatives were trimmers in such matters, as they had ever been.

The Rise of Labour

The rise of the Labour Party parallels that of the decline of the Liberal Party. One is reminded of the limerick of the lady and the tiger. Labour had become a factor in English politics largely by the tacit aid of Liberals. When the Liberal majority dwindled in 1910, the Liberals governed with the support of Labour. The latter had provided support for reducing the Lords. During the war years, Labour Party leaders had served in the coalition government, most prominently under David Lloyd George. (It is interesting to note, once again, the role of Lloyd George. He wooed Labour members astutely to bring them into the government. "He promised state control of the mines and of shipping, and the introduction of an effective system of food rationing."[24] "War socialism" was perhaps politically "expedient." The Liberal Lady had ridden the Labour Tiger for a number of years. But at the end of the ride, the Lady was inside.

Even while it was being ridden, however, the Labour Party could

[24] Henry Pelling, *A Short History of the Labour Party* (London: Macmillan, 1961), p. 39.

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and did occasionally get a quid pro quo. Most notably did it do so in the Trade Union Act of 1913. A few years before, as has been noted, a decision was rendered making it illegal for union funds to be used for political purposes. These funds were, of course, the potential life blood of the party. The Trade Union Act permitted the union funds to be used for party purposes. It required that they be kept separate from other funds so that union members who did not wish to contribute to the political fund could refuse to do so by making a written statement to that effect. Obviously, they would have been much more effectively deterred in gaining such funds if union members had to sign an authorization for them to be so used. But the Labour Party overrode such objections in the Commons.[25] Thereafter, the Labour Party had an assured source of income.

Infiltration of the Unions by Fabian Socialism

In the early years, the Labour Party was not clearly a socialist party. A considerable portion of the men who represented it in Parliament were trade union men advancing what they conceived to be the interest of trade unions. The party drew its members from the trade unions and from socialist societies, the former providing most of the numbers. It was transformed into a thoroughgoing socialist party at the end of World War I, at about the time that it separated clearly from the Liberals.

A new constitution for the party was adopted in 1918, and a general statement of policy soon followed it. These were the work of the Fabian Sidney Webb primarily who, according to his wife, had become "the intellectual leader of the Labour Party" by this time.[26] The constitution opened the way for those not associated with the societies or trade union members to become members of the party. More importantly, it committed the party to socialism. It read, in part:

> To secure for the producers by hand and brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.[27]

Shortly thereafter, a statement of Labour's aims was set forth in *Labour and the New Social Order*, the work again of Sidney Webb.

[25] See *ibid.*, p. 28.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[27] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 44.

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It called for the establishment of a general national minimum, for the political control of industry, for heavy taxes, and a more general appropriation of private wealth for the general populace. One writer describes its importance in this way:

> *Labour and the New Social Order* was a significant document. Its socialist objective clearly distinguished the new party from its older rivals. . . . The Fabian gradualism of the program and the reliance upon parliamentary democracy enabled Labour to win support where its new Communist competitor failed dismally. It outlined the policies to which Labour has consistently adhered.[28]

In 1924, Ramsay MacDonald, a Labourite, became Prime Minister of England. Socialism was not yet in power – his ministry lasted only months, but that one of its spokesmen had risen so high was surely a portent of things to come.

Within fifteen years or so, great changes had occurred in England. In 1906, England still afforded a good example of the liberal state with limited government, protections of private property, and extensive liberties for the inhabitants. After 1906, England made lengthy strides toward the welfare state, had its constitution altered so that power was centered in the House of Commons, experienced "war socialism" and the concentration of power in the hands of the Prime Minister, witnessed the decline of the Liberal Party and the rise of the Labour Party, and the transformation of the latter party into a socialist one. Nor would the effects of all this be long in making themselves felt. ◈

[28] Brand, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57.

The next article of this series will discuss "The Decline of England"

The Flight from Reality, the series by Dr. Carson which first appeared in THE FREEMAN (October 1964 through November 1966), will soon be available in book form.

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A housing policy for GREAT BRITAIN

THE RT. HON. J. ENOCH POWELL, M.P.

Addressing the House-Builders Conference in Kensington, England, November 28, 1968.

THE TITLE is yours, not mine. My proposition is that there ought not to be a housing policy, any more than there is a food policy, a clothing policy, a furniture and carpets policy, a passenger cars policy, and so on. The same mechanism which provides food, clothing, furniture, carpets, cars, and the like, and has done so on an ever-rising standard for everybody, could provide houses, too. Why doesn't it, then? Because we, the politicians, by the laws we make and maintain, prevent it. We use the law to keep the price of housing down to levels at which the mechanism cannot work, or at best, malfunctions. For fifty years we have practiced in regard to housing the oldest and the cruelest of all the deceptions which politicians practice upon their victims – to persuade them that we will make a thing cheap and plentiful for them by holding down the price of it by force.

The only price at which the mechanism will work properly is the best price that can be obtained. There is only one "right" rent for a house or flat: that is the best rent the owner can command. To the extent that houses or flats are let for a lower rent than that, either because of rent control or because of public subsidy, the general interest suffers. If there is shortage and squalor in housing, if people would like to have more housing rather than other things, the reason for it is what I have long since been accustomed to describe, in public and in private, in speeches and in writing, at elections and between elections, as the Two Giant Evils: rent control and subsidy. Your Federation in its

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evidence to the Prices and Incomes Board, though a shade less flamboyant, was no less outspoken: "a combination," you said, "of private rent restriction and subsidized municipal housing to let has proved fatal to the private market for rent and has been a root cause of slumdom and decay."

Few of the nine million rented houses in Great Britain are let at the market rent, the best rent that could be obtained for them if none were controlled or subsidized. What the gap between present rents and market rents is, nobody knows, because, in the nature of things, when an open market does not exist, one cannot know the market price. In 1967, the 5.2 million municipal houses in Britain were subsidized from taxes and rates to the tune of about £130 million or, on average overall, £25 per annum. But we do not know if that represents the gap between actual and market rents. Some municipal houses and flats probably could not be let at their present high rents if there were a free market all round. Others, probably the great majority, would command a somewhat higher rent than that which would enable the housing authority to cover, without subsidy, its outgoings in respect of them. Nevertheless, that figure of £25 a year probably does give us a useful approximate notion of the sort of gap – something, perhaps, between 10s. and 12s. a week – which exists on average overall. As to the 3⅓ million privately-owned rented houses, we are even more in the dark. There must, too, be large variations, from place to place and from house to house, in what would prove in fact to be the gap between the actual and the open market rent, owing to the vagaries and chance effects of subsidy policy and the rent laws.

Escapist Policies

So, we find ourselves in a situation not without parallels elsewhere in politics. Politicians and public alike are standing on the brink of a gulf between common sense and things as they are, which is so wide and frightening that with one accord they shut their eyes and turn the other way. The politicians all think that if they tell the truth and try to bridge the gap, they will make themselves so unpopular as never to be elected again. The public, on their side, not unreasonably, feel that it is not incumbent upon them to push the politicians into unpleasant measures, however wise and necessary. So the conspiracy of pretense continues, and we keep producing new and ever new "housing policies," and making new and ever new promises to "solve the housing problem." The

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occasional politician here and there goes about denouncing the Two Giant Evils and appears to take no harm thereby, though if his colleagues could find a way to muzzle him, no doubt they would. Otherwise, nothing happens. You yourselves say: "that policy [of market rents] is presumably unacceptable over a short-term period" but "it is clearly essential that some attempt be made to rationalize the present situation."

Well, let us give ourselves a treat this morning. Let us just imagine that the will existed to return to common sense in housing – to "rationalize the present situation," as you put it – and set out what it would involve. At least, they can't take our dreams away from us.

A Return to Common Sense

First, we must act both generally and rapidly. The easiest way to get from an unnatural to a natural situation is to do it suddenly. There are equally good political and practical reasons for that. If, as we believe, people would soon begin to see and feel the benefit of open market rents, in terms of more housing and the disappearance of the phenomena of shortage, then it is best to get the painful part and the period of confusion over as quickly as possible so that people have time to leave it behind them and grow accustomed to the "brave new world." If subsidies are reduced gradually and control removed bit by bit, the agony is protracted. The practical reason is that, if only a part of the whole is allowed to go free, prices and rents there rise above what would be the ultimate market level all round, because all the scarcity from other parts is concentrated on that one. If everybody is put into the market at the same time, nobody can for long get more than the true market price or rent. So the first thing to aim at is to get all the subsidies and controls off in a matter of months rather than years.

Secondly, while we can safely leave the private owner to aim at the best rent, if he is allowed to, something more has to be done in the case of the municipal owner, who, for close on fifty years, has worn a triple character: not only landlord, but dispenser of charity and purchaser of tenant votes. If the sole function in the future is to be a good landlord, in the best commercial sense of the term, the elected local authority is about as bad and unsuitable a body for the purpose as can be imagined. All municipal houses should therefore be vested in a public corporation, charged with two duties: to maximize the return from them and

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manage this public "estate" on the best commercial principles; and gradually to dispose of them – dare I say "denationalize them"? – to private property companies and private owner-occupiers.

There will be two financial consequences: one for the particular tenants, another for everybody. Rents generally will rise – that is essential – and therefore this element in the cost of living for over half the households in the country will undergo a once-for-all increase. For the majority of them this will be no more than they have sustained many times in recent years – though this time, as I will show in a moment, there will be solid compensations. In any case, wages will have to go up to match, because, as I wrote long ago, housing subsidies and rent control have been "Speenhamland in modern dress" – in other words, outdoor relief in supplementation of wages, a thoroughly bad thing. There will be a minority, however, who will need to have those benefits adjusted or be otherwise helped by their fellow citizens.

Taxes, Budgets, and Ideals

But now let us look at the public in their total character, as taxpayers and ratepayers rather than tenants. The rates will be relieved straight away of all housing costs – subsidy, administration, the lot – because there will be no more municipal housing. Meanwhile, the National Housing Corporation, even after lowering some of the present very high rents, which are only obtainable in conditions of subsidy and control, ought to turn in to the Exchequer a substantial surplus on its operations, while the Exchequer itself will benefit by the abolition of the tax-borne subsidies – in all, perhaps £150 million toward reduction of taxes and increase of social benefits for the persons affected by the higher rents.

That, however, is not the end of it. There is more still to come; for the Budget at the moment is carrying between £300 million and £400 million a year for the capital which is lent to local housing authorities to build new houses and flats but has to be raised in taxes by the Chancellor of the Exchequer because in present circumstances it cannot be borrowed by the government from the public. In future this capital will be raised by the private enterprise builders of new rental accommodation, just as the capital is raised for new owner-occupied houses, without recourse to the taxpayer. So, even if half the subsidies had to be given back in social payments, the huge sum of some £500 million would be available for relief of taxation. Most people would find

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the bargain a pretty good one; and remember that I have taken no credit at all in these calculations for any increased efficiency, and therefore lower real prices, which ought to result from the substitution of private enterprise for municipal nonenterprise, and from the larger scale on which private enterprise builders would be able to plan and carry out their operations.

There now! Were we dreaming, or were we awake? "Ideally," and now I am quoting your own Federation again, "it would be desirable to sweep away the current jungle of rents in the public and private sectors by turning to a free market in rented housing which would allow to landlords a proper margin of profit and would bring investment capital back into the private rented sector." "Desirable?" Yes. "Ideally?" Well, that depends on us, whether we can make the desirable so clear to our fellow citizens that they will insist upon having it and will tell the politicians to get down to the job. ◈

IDEAS ON LIBERTY

Something Constructive!

FROM time to time, readers of *Analysis* urge upon me the espousal of some program they are pleased to call "constructive."... The reform invariably rests its case on the good will, intelligence and selflessness of men, who, invested with the power to do so, will put the reform into operation. And the lesson of history is that power is never so used. Never. I am convinced, on the other hand, that all of the evils of which these honest people complain can be traced to the misuse of power, and am therefore inclined to distrust political power of any kind. . . . The only "constructive" idea that I can in all conscience advance, then, is that the individual put his trust in himself, not in power; that he seek to better his understanding and lift his values to a higher and still higher level; that he assume responsibility for his behavior and not shift his responsibility to committees, organizations and, above all, a superpersonal State. Such reforms as are necessary will come of themselves when, or if, men act as intelligent and responsible human beings. There cannot be a "good" society until there are "good" men.

FRANK CHODOROV, *Analysis*, July, 1949

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WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Hands off
SOUTHERN AFRICA

ONE of the greatest moral and intellectual delusions, one of the surest roads to ultimate disillusionment, is the crusading war. This may be defined as a conflict in which a people engages for no concrete, rationally conceived purpose, but for the supposed vindication of some vague international ideal. For even the worthiest ideals are seldom realized by resort to arms. As a dissenter in World War I, Randolph Bourne remarked: "War is like a wild elephant. It carries the rider where *it* wants, not where *he* wants to go."

Consider in retrospect Woodrow Wilson's message, calling for a declaration of war against Germany in April, 1917: "Make the world safe for democracy."

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The actual sequel to America's participation in World War I was the emergence and spread of two systems which were an utter negation of democratic principles as understood by Wilson and practiced in those countries of North America and Western Europe where democracy took firm root. These systems were fascism and communism, both products of the psychological aftermath of the destruction of human life on an unprecedented scale and the uprooting of old institutions and loyalties. Who remembers the Four Freedoms, the Atlantic Charter, or other professed aims of World War II, except to mark the complete contradiction between these objectives and the much less pleasant realities of the postwar settlement?

The crusading spirit that leads Americans periodically to plunge into wars or to take steps likely

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to provoke wars, in pursuit of moralistic and often quite impractical goals, is a compound of several elements. There is an element of naive arrogance, expressed in the assumption that, by means of war, we can make what is perhaps an unsatisfactory situation better, not worse. There is the equally naive and arrogant assumption that a political system which has served us well is automatically best suited to the needs and requirements of peoples with different historical, political, economic, and social backgrounds.

There is also in a crusading war the illusion, dangerous to a nation as to an individual, of omnipotence, of ability to control to our liking the many new, sometimes unforeseeable, forces that will come to the surface as a by-product of war. Woodrow Wilson was a scholar and a student of history. But how much he overlooked, perhaps inevitably, when he envisaged a peace based on his fourteen points and guaranteed by a new institution, the League of Nations. The inability, for instance, to obtain just postwar boundaries and a reasonable financial settlement against the desire of the European allies for annexations and indemnities and the inflamed state of American public opinion. Or the violent revolutionary impulses that would be unleashed by the rancor of defeat and the disruption of familiar boundaries and institutions, to say nothing of the individual and social distress caused by the prolonged slaughter. Or the unwillingness of sovereign states to turn over the responsibilities of their own defense and the issue of whether or not to participate in future hostilities to an untried organization like the League of Nations.

In retrospect it seems evident that the best promise of a lasting peace, once World War I had begun, would have been a compromise settlement in 1915 or 1916 which would have been accepted by all participants, not with full satisfaction for any, but without leaving a sense of intolerable political and economic wrong. This was what President Wilson himself thought before the United States became a belligerent. The best critic of Wilson, the unsuccessful peacemaker of Paris, was Wilson on January 22, 1917, pleading for a "peace without victory" in an address to the United States Senate:

"Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bit-

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ter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last, only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit."

Not the least of the advantages of a peace by negotiation – before the final breaking point came in 1918 – would have been that such a settlement would most probably have averted the victories of communism in Russia and fascism in Italy and national socialism in Germany, thus averting new causes of new wars.

The U. N. Road to War

The grave and disillusioning consequences of crusading wars are now written large for all to see. Yet, the United States currently risks being drawn into just this type of harmful and unnecessary conflict. The place is southern Africa; the instrumentality is the United Nations, or, more specifically, its Afro-Asian bloc; the cause, the willingness of the United States representatives at the UN to vote for resolutions which may seem innocuous on the surface, but which have explosive implications.

The section of Africa which lies between the Zambesi River and the Cape of Good Hope has not set up native nationalist administrations. This is because the Union of South Africa, the largest and richest of the four territories of southern Africa, and its northern neighbor, Rhodesia, are under the government of people with a strong pioneering tradition who are unwilling to trust their prospects under the black racist regimes that would be in prospect if a system of "one man, one vote" were introduced. This attitude is understandable because the majority of the African natives live under tribal conditions, isolated from modern life, and quite unfamiliar with Western political ideas and institutions.

The remainder of southern Africa consists of two large Portuguese colonies, Angola on the west coast and Mozambique on the east. Feeling that they stand or fall together, the governments of South Africa and Rhodesia and the Portuguese administrations in Angola and Mozambique maintain close contact in fighting subversion.

Approaches to Racial Problems

Each of the states and administrations of southern Africa has its own distinctive approach to the African native problem. The Union of South Africa is committed to a policy of apartheid or separate development for its vari-

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ous racial groups: the whites, who are mostly of Dutch or British descent, the various native African tribes, the East Indians and the "coloreds," some of them people of mixed blood, some descendants of indentured Malays. This implies separate facilities in schools, public accommodations, and political life. It is defended by most white South Africans and by some natives on the ground that a racially amalgamated society in South Africa is neither possible nor desirable, that the various races are happiest if given separate opportunities. (Curiously enough, some of the extreme black nationalists in the United States seem to have reached a very similar conclusion.)

To the South Africans – especially those who speak Afrikaans, a modified Dutch, and are of Dutch descent – apartheid is not mentioned apologetically, but is avowed and defended as a sincere effort to solve a difficult and complicated racial problem. As compensation for the denial of equal political, economic, and social rights to nonwhites in white areas of settlement, South Africans point to the separate colleges for the Bantus and other ethnic groups and especially to the government policy of setting up native administrative areas, sometimes called Bantustans, with elected native parliaments and governments, where whites are being squeezed out of existing shops and factories so that the Bantus may manage their own affairs.

One of these states, the Trans-Kei, is in existence and others are projected for the future. I visited the Trans-Kei in the spring of 1968 and came away with the feeling that the government was sincere in its ideal of racial separate development; but there are formidable economic obstacles in the way of its realization. The land at the disposal of the present and future Bantustans cannot support the African native population. Those who seek work in urban areas encounter a good many regulations and restrictions.

The white governing regime in Rhodesia has a somewhat different approach. Apartheid, in its more extreme forms, does not exist in Rhodesia, where one is impressed by the numbers of native policemen and by the integration in most hotels and the use of African units in the small Rhodesian army. Incidentally, these African units showed no sense of divided loyalty when called on to combat incursions of communist- or nationalist-trained guerrilla bands operating from bases in Zambia. There are no African natives in the South African par-

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liament in Capetown; but there are fifteen Africans among the sixty-five members of the Rhodesian parliament in Salisbury.

Portuguese policy in Angola and Mozambique is something else again. There is no official color bar for those natives who, by education and habits, have acquired the status of *assimilados,* or civilized people. The number of these *assimilados,* however, is still quite small.

South Africa is completely free from any signs of native unrest, and the Rhodesian military and police forces have experienced little difficulty in dealing with guerrilla incursions. There has been more serious fighting, the extent of which is hard to gauge, in Angola and Mozambique, although the principal towns and routes of communication have been securely held.

The Afro-Asian Bloc

From the beginning, the newly independent African states have waged an unceasing vendetta against the southern part of the African continent that remains under white rule. As a matter of principle, they have been joined by most of the Asian members of the United Nations. It is through this institution that the danger of United States involvement in this foreign quarrel arises. The Afro-Asian bloc that always votes against anything that may be construed as imperialism (although selectively indifferent to Soviet demonstrations of this tendency) is weak in real political, military, and economic power. But it disposes of disproportionate voting strength in the UN General Assembly.

The Afro-Asian bloc in the UN has proved repeatedly that it has enough voting power to carry any resolution, however extreme, committing the UN members to hostile and punitive actions against the nations of southern Africa. These resolutions have no binding force; but they create a constant element of tension and strain in the relations of the United States with the Union of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal. In view of the fact that these countries have been uniformly friendly in their attitude toward the United States (they have paid their debts, extended a friendly welcome to United States tourists, and provided profitable fields for trade and investment) there is no reason for a U. S. policy of hostile pinpricks.

Yet the United States has associated itself with many hostile resolutions inspired by the Afro-Asian bloc and in some cases has proceeded from words to deeds. For instance, it is associated with

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an arms boycott of the Union of South Africa, although the arms which South Africa wishes to purchase abroad are sophisticated weapons which would be useless in civil disturbances. When I visited South Africa in the spring of 1968, Admiral Biermann, commander of the small South African navy, put to me a question that puzzles many of his countrymen: "Why do the Americans and British expect us, in the event of war, to keep the sea route around the Cape of Good Hope open and refuse to sell us submarines and other naval equipment we need?" It was not an easy question to answer.

The United States has gone still further in the case of Rhodesia, and in plain violation of its own national interest. This former British colony, where Britain has exercised no control over internal affairs for decades, declared its independence three years ago. It has maintained this status despite feeble harassing inroads of communist or black nationalist terrorists across the frontier from Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) and despite sanctions against its exports and imports initiated by Great Britain with the support of the UN and the participation of the United States. American trade with Rhodesia (with its 225,000 whites and four million natives) has been necessarily on a small scale. But that country has been an important source of a strategic material, chrome, which the United States does not produce itself. The principal other source is the Soviet Union.

On the record of the two, which is the greater threat to peace, the Soviet Union or Rhodesia? Every reasonably intelligent person knows the answer. Yet the United States, by refusing to buy Rhodesian chrome, has seemed to proceed on the theory that it is more endangered by Rhodesia than by the Soviet Union.

U. S. Meddling in Africa

The United States has taken up a wholly unnecessary attitude of meddling partisanship on another African issue: South Africa's administration of the huge, sparsely populated, former German colony of Southwest Africa. This area, acquired by South Africa as a mandate from the long-deceased League of Nations, has been virtually incorporated in that country for more than half a century. It could not be detached without a difficult military expedition in forbidding and difficult terrain, a task which no one has the apparent force or desire to undertake.

It is always unwise to threaten

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by implication measures which there is no intention to implement. Yet former U.S. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg went out of his way at the UN to assert that South Africa had forfeited its mandate and had no other authority to administer this territory.

The United States also gave its assent to one of the most futile and ridiculous projects ever spawned by the United Nations. This was the establishment of a "United Nations Council for Southwest Africa," with an assigned function of administering the territory until independence, a goal which the Council was instructed to do all in its power to achieve by June, 1968. June, 1968 has come and gone, and what this phantom Council has achieved has been precisely zero. It is futile and undignified for the United States to take part in such silly games.

Leave Them Alone

In the light of the unhappy results of crusading wars in the past, a rethinking of American policy toward southern Africa seems clearly in order. As individuals, Americans may be convinced or unconvinced by the arguments for and against the present situation in the Portuguese colonies, in South Africa, and in Rhodesia. One point that should not be overlooked in considering denunciations of the present regimes in the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia is that hundreds of thousands of African natives have "voted with their feet" by voluntarily leaving other parts of Africa to seek higher wages and better opportunities in these two countries.

The wise course for a country which, like the United States, has not made a conspicuous success of its own race relations would be to adopt a strictly "hands off" policy toward southern Africa, to abstain from voting on provocative UN resolutions, to withdraw the arms embargo on South Africa, and to dissociate itself from sanctions against Rhodesia. (Many of the Britons who are best informed on Rhodesian realities would breathe a sigh of relief if we would pull the rug from under a sanctions policy that has been getting nowhere fast.) If the present regimes in southern Africa are doomed by the course of history, as some of their critics believe, we assume no obligation to save them. But why, in the name of realism and common sense, should we play the role of Che Guevaras and Mao Tse-tungs and help to let loose the horrors of racial strife over an area with whose peoples we have no quarrel? ◈

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Dynamics of the FREE MARKET

ROBERT H. EAGLE

SOCIAL and economic changes, changes in tastes and technology, appear inevitable. Many of yesterday's products and processes have passed from the scene, replaced today by countless goods and services unheard of a few years ago.

Recognizing this fact, entrepreneurs attempt to anticipate or initiate change in order to secure a profit. In an active, relatively free market, they are constantly searching for new products and services which they hope will have widespread appeal and consequently produce the profit which successful innovations bring. Some of these attempts succeed; others fail. But the public as a whole is satisfied with the result of the free market mechanism, powered by the profit motive.

The conditions of supply and demand which pace economic changes are simply the expressed desires of willing buyers and sellers. The resources for production thus are attracted into business ventures that are potentially profitable.

However, when the source of investment is heavy taxation, the criterion of profit potentiality is lacking; and the size and impact of projects, thus financed, must inevitably bring about undesired changes. Had the general public's desire for such undertakings been at all discernible, entrepreneurs would have banded together to take advantage of the obvious profit potential.

Many economists have long recognized the role of profit (positive and negative) in directing economic activity out of certain lines and into others, but the fact that the profit motive *paces*

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change, bringing it about but at the same time keeping it within manageable and tolerable limits, has seldom, if ever, been recognized.

Yet the second role of profit – causing tolerable, relatively gradual change, in contrast to the social and economic upheavals which are apparently becoming more drastic and frequent – may be as important as the role of directing economic activity.

The movement into or out of certain economic activities is directed by the consuming public which by its voluntary purchases or nonpurchases bestows positive or negative profits on the entrepreneurs involved. Similarly, the public, in a free market society in which government plays only a minor economic role, would control the *pace* of change.

A Sense of Stability Midst the Winds of Change

Both a desire for change and a resistance to change are built into human nature, in different proportions among different human beings. Very few people enjoy living in a society of constant and drastic changes. Human nature demands some sense of stability, some assurance that life is not going to be drastically different every day. It is widely believed that the pace of modern industrial society is having deleterious effects on the population, socially and psychologically. On the other hand, not many people wish to live out their lives without any prospect for change. The great mass of Americans fall into the middle ground, desiring change leavened with a certain amount of stability. And this is the kind and pace of change generally afforded as entrepreneurs cater to the general public in open competition.

However, when the government becomes the single largest customer in the economy, dwarfing the world's largest corporation, matters are far from the ideal described above. With its virtually unlimited access to resources (gained with the use of compulsion via its taxing powers), catering to powerful special interests (all of whom want the public treasure spent on their own behalf), the government is in a position to bring about vast and widespread changes that are undesirable so far as the general public is concerned.

An example of the disruptions brought about by coercive government intervention is the "diverted-acres program." Under this program, the Federal government pays large landowners handsomely to retire land from production.

Senator Abraham Ribicoff reports in the September, 1968, *Reader's Digest* that the average

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corn acreage has been cut by 15 per cent since 1961, but the corn harvest went *up* by 376 million bushels. The large operators retired their poorest land and "spent their government checks on more fertilizer and high-yield technology for their remaining acres." Such a program adversely affected "the small farmer who did not have enough land to participate in the diverted acres program." The report continues, "to collect Washington's cash for diverting acres into growing pulpwood, for example, many landowners have dispossessed tenants and laborers by the thousands.... The net effect... has been to eject 100,000 more farm people per year."

Shifting Populations

The population movement from farms to industrialized centers goes on in any economy as it changes from predominantly agricultural to predominantly industrial. In the absence of government intervention, this movement tends to be spread out over time rather than to occur in sudden spurts. When farm workers, unprepared by skill or background for city life, move gradually into urban centers, they can be more readily absorbed into the new environment than when they abruptly arrive in large numbers.

The farm program, as Senator Ribicoff explains, is one of "the forces moving poor farm people into urban ghettos." Such environmental wrenchings add to the overall problem of crime and delinquency.

The letting of large government contracts, giant public works, space and national defense programs (as when military bases are located, opened, and shut down for political considerations) such actions, based on compulsion, have a monumental impact on the economy and the disposition of men, money, and materials. In addition, fiscal and monetary policies, usually involving the expansion of money and credit, overstimulate the economy and bring about drastic coerced changes that no combination of entrepreneurs, big and small, could ever accomplish.

If these intolerable dislocations of people and resources are to be avoided, the responsibility must be withdrawn from government and re-assumed by the private sector of the economy. ◈

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Tribalism in Africa

NOTHING is simple. The good libertarian, if he follows his theory to the end, must be for the free movement of people, goods, gold, information, and ideas over the surface of the earth. He must be for the unrestrained immigration of Indians into Great Britain, or Chinese and Negroes into Australia, or Arabs into Israel, and Israeli into Egypt or Tunis. He must be for applying the principle of "one man, one vote" to Rhodesia and South Africa. But in the practical world, the free movement of men who do not care for freedom can be destructive of all the individual liberties that have been painfully wrung from governments over twenty centuries of intensive struggle.

The paradoxical results of supporting the idea of freedom for people who don't in the least care to preserve it are spelled out in great detail in Dr. Franco Nogueira's remarkable little book, *The Third World* (Johnson Publications, London, England), which comes to us with an enthusiastic foreword by former U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Acheson. Dr. Nogueira is the Portuguese Foreign Minister, a job to which he succeeded after a scarifying experience as a delegate for his country at the UN General Assembly. In the UN the nations of the "third world" form what is known as the Afro-Asian bloc. The Afro-Asian nations are loud in praise of democracy, liberalism, and other Western concepts, but in Dr. Nogueira's experience they don't understand anything they say.

As a Portuguese Dr. Nogueira had, of course, to defend the record of his countrymen in Africa, where Portugal retains its hold on Angola and Mozambique. Unlike the white Rhodesians and the Boers of South Africa, the Portu-

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guese are champions of a real multiracialism. They don't care who marries whom. They extend the same liberties to everybody, whether white, black, brown, or yellow; and they consider their African soil to be part of the grand cosmopolitan nation of Greater Portugal. Yet, in spite of practicing the sort of liberalism which the nations of the "third world" say they want to see restored all over Africa, the Portuguese find themselves denounced in the UN as "reactionary colonialists."

Myth of Democratic Development

Dr. Nogueira makes his points about Portugal's record in Africa succinctly. He believes his country is still in Africa precisely because it has had a policy that does justice to the concept of multiracialism. But this book is not an apologia. It is mainly devoted to an exposure of the myths that control "almost all aspects of life" on the African continent outside of the Portuguese territories.

When Britain, France, and Belgium decided to withdraw from Africa, the theory was that new multiracial states would respect the individual, leaving him in possession of his vote, his right to a representative political party, his civil rights, and his property. In Western Europe, the individual had increased his liberties in direct relation to his ability to make a living for himself by dependence on his unhampered skills and his own means of production. But in the new Africa of recent years, nationalist freedoms have been linked with the cause of socialism (African socialism in the sub-Sahara region, Arab socialism in the North along the Mediterranean). Not surprisingly to libertarians, the socialism of the new governments has proved incompatible with everything the leaders say they want for their people.

There is the myth of democratic development. In Africa, the tribe was always more important than the individual. Parliamentary freedom in the new African countries has invariably succumbed to tribal strife, with the big tribe setting up a despotism on the basis of a single mass party. The Ibos of Nigeria weren't strong enough to maintain themselves as a separate bloc in a democratic state; hence, the necessity of recourse to tribal warfare to preserve their very existence. In the Congo, Moise Tshombe's tribe wasn't powerful enough to establish a separate statehood for Katanga. And in Kenya and Tanzania, the cattle-herding Masai are clearly an anachronistic element, doomed to eventual extinction as the more settled tribes such as the Kikuyu

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learn to work the levers of a centralized government.

Rapid Industrialization

Another African myth is that of rapid industrialization. The idea was that if the West were to pour in external aid, there could be a quick movement to what Walt Rostow has described as the "take-off point." But, as Dr. Nogueira points out, industrialization depends on a healthy agriculture, a strong middle class to supply the "appropriate cadres" to operate industry, and an efficient and uncorrupt government. There is no sense giving Gabon, say, a factory to make television sets when there is no local market for them, and no technical intelligentsia to supply repairmen.

What particularly amuses Dr. Nogueira is the myth of land reform. The idea that land is monopolized in Africa "is demagogy pure and simple," for there is no scarcity of land in the African countries, there is only a scarcity of people. The extent of African underpopulation is apparent when one considers that with only 250 million inhabitants, the African continent controls almost one-third of the votes in the United Nations. In another few years the U.S. will be more populous than all of Africa.

Another African myth concerns higher education. The theory is that if universities are created by government fiat, an effective intelligentsia will be produced in due course. But before you can have a university you have to have primary, rural, and technical schools. Africa is turning out doctors and engineers who are only so in name and in the diplomas they receive.

In an Africa so controlled by myth it is hardly strange that what we are seeing is the re-emergence of the tribal chief. The coming of "uhuru," or freedom, has deprived Africans of the "moderating" power of the colonial administrator. When the state is taken over by the dominant tribe, the government exercises its new dominance with a harshness and despotism that may very well end with the enslavement of minorities. Opposition to the dominant tribe becomes a form of treason, to be punished as such.

On the world scale, the new tribal nations of Africa become pawns in the struggle between Moscow and the West. They are promised much, but actually get very little that they can use. Ironically, the small-scale agricultural missions sent to Africa by the Free Chinese of Taiwan have done more good for the new African nations than all the money poured in by the big powers that pretend

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to have African interests at heart.

Dean Acheson, in his pungent and lucid foreword, wonders why his own country, the United States, should lecture Portugal about her role in Africa when Angola is so much more peaceful than the Congo. It is a legitimate wonder. ◈

OTHER BOOKS

▸ DAGGER IN THE HEART: AMERICAN POLICY FAILURES IN CUBA by Mario Lazo (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1968), 426 pp., $5.95.

Reviewed by Bettina Bien

TO DEMONSTRATE that even disinterested eye-witnesses to an event may disagree as to what really happened, a professor of journalism stages this incident for his classes: A neighboring professor is loudly accused of indiscretion; he and his "attacker," brandishing weapons, dash out into the hall within sight of the future journalists. When the commotion subsides, the students are asked to report what took place and the differences in their accounts make the point for the teacher.

The writing of history, like the art of journalism, involves reporting events as accurately as possible. But it also calls for selection, interpretation, and evaluation. It is difficult enough to describe a simple, witnessed incident; it is even more difficult, if not impossible, to learn precisely what happened when witnesses and reporters of complex historical events are personally involved and when reputations and lives may be in jeopardy. Lincoln's assassination has never been completely explained, nor has John F. Kennedy's; historians still debate the significance of events leading to World Wars I and II; and the assignment of blame with respect to U. S. intervention in Cuba is one of many matters now in active dispute. Several associates of John F. Kennedy have published versions justifying his actions; and now we have the views of a close observer not responsible in any way for U. S. diplomatic decisions.

Mario Lazo, author of *Dagger in the Heart*, is a man of two nations. A noted Cuban lawyer, born and educated in this country, a U. S. Army officer in World War I, he has close ties to both countries. Although he recognizes that every historian has a national "bias," reports on Cuba since the late 1950's contain what Mr. Lazo considers "planned distortion" – in Castro's favor. Mr. Lazo traces Cuban history briefly from the Spanish-American War. No lover of Batista, he was nevertheless

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deeply concerned at the prospects of a Castro takeover. There were other potential leaders available. But one by one they were effectively eliminated by U. S. action, or inaction. Finally, when Batista was deliberately ousted, nothing stood between Castro and his seizure of power.

Mr. Lazo names names and places blame – principally on *New York Times* correspondent, Herbert Matthews, and U. S. State Department officials, Roy R. Rubottom, Jr. and William A. Wieland – for concealing the true situation in Cuba and for issuing reports obviously contrary to fact. U. S. diplomacy, based on such misinformation, led to decisions, delays, and sudden policy changes that proved antagonistic to both Cuban and U. S. interests. In spite of Castro's communist ties, his verbal attacks on this country, his confiscation and nationalization of properties, reports biased in his favor led the U. S. government to trust him and his "socialist regime" for several years. The tentative decision to turn against him and to help anti-Castro Cubans was Eisenhower's in early 1960; John F. Kennedy expanded and elaborated the plans in 1961, until they called for large-scale invasion by U. S. trained Cuban patriots with U. S. supplies and U. S. air cover. Knowledge of the scheme was widespread. But one man – Adlai Stevenson – raised strong objections after the plans were well advanced. Kennedy then backed down, and withdrew support of the invasion even after Cuban patriots had started landing at the "Bay of Pigs." Mr. Lazo paints a similar picture of delayed decisions and sudden last-minute reversals in the case of the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. U. S. policy has in effect strengthened communism in Cuba making it a veritable "dagger in the heart" of the Western hemisphere.

Recent Cuban history has hung at times on such a slender thread as a misdirected letter that might have led to the election of anti-Batista forces in 1952. More often it has been shaped, as Mr. Lazo shows, by the political decisions of indecisive men on the basis of false reports and perhaps even deliberate misrepresentations, by diplomatic procedures that were surely remiss, by little men in high office. This book presents facts and interpretations which serious future historians *must* take into consideration when dealing with this phase of U. S. diplomacy. Although not a participant in U. S.-Cuban diplomacy himself, Mr. Lazo has long been a knowledgeable bystander and a friend of many who were involved. His analysis, amply supported by foot-

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notes, often to the effect that the persons named have read and agreed with his interpretation, is an important chapter in the revisionist version of history which is so very much needed to counterbalance the many apologies being written and published on behalf of the political administrations involved. ◈

▸ THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY —HOW IT RUNS, WHERE IT IS GOING by Jacques Barzun (New York: Harper & Row), 319 pp., $7.95.

Reviewed by Robert M. Thornton and Edmund A. Opitz

A LOT of things are happening on campus this season including, one presumes, some instruction. But today's educational crisis has little to do, seemingly, with the content of the courses or the tools of learning; it concerns, rather, the sabotage of the educational process by the kind of institutions the giant universities have become.

It is imperative, if we desire to know what has happened to education, that we find a trustworthy expositor. Jacques Barzun has been associated with Columbia University for more than forty years, first as a student, then as teacher, and finally as administrator. He has a brilliant and far-ranging mind, as attested by the fine books he has authored during the past quarter century. He enlists our sympathy by first taking us behind the scenes and giving the reader some sense of the awesome task of just keeping a university going as a physical entity – in addition to the smooth provisioning of all the equipment, books, assistants, and other perquisites now deemed so essential to the task of teaching. Then he tells us what has gone wrong, and why. Finally, he outlines the remedial action.

Today's university is expected to be all things to all people. Governments subsidize it to solve social problems, industry pays it to conduct research, and communities demand programs of adult education, so-called. Spreading itself too thin, more and more of the university's time, talent, money, buildings, and equipment is used for purposes not consonant with its proper functioning, which is teaching and learning. The university, declares Barzun, under the load of demand and complaint and the corresponding loss of will to maintain its form, has abdicated from several provinces:

> The unity of knowledge; the desire and power to teach; the authority and skill to pass judgment on what claims to be knowledge, to

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be a university, to be a scholar, to be a basic scientist; finally, the consciousness of what is properly academic – a consciousness which implies the right to decline alike: commercial opportunities, service assignments for industry, the administering of social welfare, and the bribes, flattery, or dictation of any self-seeking group.

Another problem is money. There is so much for impedimenta that the university strangles in its own affluence while the essentials starve for want of funds. Gifts from individuals or grants from governments and corporations have strings attached so that the funds cannot be internally directed in terms of a coherent university policy. A generous alumnus, for instance, donates a million dollars for a new building. This is very nice, except that the university will have to tap other resources to furnish, staff, and maintain the new building. Grants for government research may play havoc with university staffs, luring men from this school to that, paying them for nonteaching positions and incurring costs not paid for by the grants. Barzun notes, too, that in our inflationary economy the university is constantly faced with the challenge of meeting rising costs without increasing tuitions too much. And high taxes push up costs while discouraging potential donors.

Barzun lays about him unmercifully, sparing none who deserve criticism. He chastizes the university leaders who will not change their ways, as well as professors who do not or cannot teach. He scoffs at the idea of students running the schools and refutes this nonsense in short order, although sympathizing with many student complaints.

The final chapter, entitled "The Choice Ahead," lists no less than sixty-eight suggestions, and assumes sufficient health in our society to stand the cure – provided we have the will. Barzun ends his book on a note of quiet optimism:

> I have tried to sketch, the latest and least interpreter in an ancient line, what choosing to have a university entails and what a great nation may expect from it – indeed must require. I do not doubt that the United States today still possesses the makings of a university, as I do not doubt that if circumstances send the institution into eclipse, the idea of it will survive into another day.

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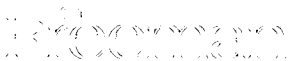

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